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THE

LIFE

OF

LUTHER,

WITH AN ACCOUNT

OF THE EARLY PROGRESS

OF THE

Reformation;

66918

BY

ALEXANDER BOWER.

Ad 2

——— Quantus vir Lutherus, quantis dotibus excellat, quanta animi fortitudine et constantia, quanta doctrinæ efficacia. *Calvin. Ep. ad Bullinger.*

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TO

THE VERY REVEREND

GEORGE HUSBAND BAIRD, D.D.

ONE OF THE

MINISTERS OF THE HIGH CHURCH

AND

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

THIS

LIFE OF LUTHER,

IN TESTIMONY OF REAL ESTEEM,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

ALEXANDER BOWER.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN contemplating the Reformation effected by Luther, it is difficult to decide whether our admiration should be more excited by the magnitude of the event, or by the appearance of total inadequacy in the means. On the one hand, we see a hierarchy of absolute dominion; on the other, a humble and unknown individual. The doctrine of the former rested on the steadfast belief of many ages, and was supported by the concurrence of powerful sovereigns; that of the latter arose from solitary meditation in an obscure corner, and, during many years, could boast of no other temporal support than toleration. Yet it was ordained, in this memorable contest, that strength should yield to weakness, and that the humble should triumph over the lofty. To trace the course by which Providence was pleased to accomplish this wonderful revolution, is the task proposed in the following pages—a task which involves the relation of events of the highest interest to the members of the Protestant communion, and not unprofitable, we may hope, in regard to the improve-

ment of our personal conduct. If we examine history with a view to conclusions of practical utility, we shall find no part of it better calculated to awaken a sense of the vanity of power, and to warn us how far impatience and pride may be rendered instrumental to their own humiliation.

In endeavouring to discover the means employed by Providence to effect this sudden change, our attention is directed chiefly to two things—the state of the times, and the character of him who was made the principal agent in the cause. In regard to the former, the revival of learning, recent as it was, had operated sufficiently to render the understandings of men equal to the comprehension of an improved doctrine. The progress of civilization, though not rapid, was sufficient to demonstrate the grossness of many of the practices of the Romish church. The season for crushing the advocates of a new creed by treachery and assassination was past. Germany and a considerable part of Europe were in a condition to appreciate and to welcome that information, which, a century before, would have been branded, by general consent, as a dangerous and damnable heresy. Nor must it be forgotten that the prince, under whose protection Luther was destined to act, took greatly the lead of the majority of his cotemporaries in discretion and sound judgment.

In the personal character of Luther we discern

many qualities calculated to enable him to discharge with success the important duty to which he was called. A constitutional ardour for devotion, a boundless thirst of knowledge and a fearless zeal in communicating it, were prominent characteristics of this extraordinary man. At the age when others indulge sanguine expectations of success in life, Luther withdrew from the flattering prospect, and secluded himself in the recesses of a monastery. Here, on discovering a copy of the Bible, he forsook all other employments and became immersed in the study of the neglected volume. Called afterwards to teach others from the pulpit and the professor's chair, he soon departed from the beaten track, and promulgated his discoveries without the slightest fear of civil or ecclesiastical power. An unwearied perseverance in theological research led him to detect farther errors, and to relinquish, step by step, many of his early opinions. In all situations Luther is the same,—pursuing indefatigably the knowledge of the word of God, and never scrupling to avow his past mistakes whenever the confession could facilitate the inquiries or confirm the faith of others. It was in vain that the head of the church and the chief of the German empire combined to threaten and proscribe him—he braved with equal courage the vengeance of either power, and continued to denounce, with an unsparing hand, the prevalence of corruption.

These are the leading features of the subject which I have endeavoured to elucidate. In addition to the narrative, I have attempted occasional observations on Luther's theological and controversial writings. Along with these I have interspersed some remarks on the general state of education and knowledge in that age. On all points of consequence a reference is made to a specific authority; but the extent of labour bestowed on research, I wish estimated rather by an examination of the book, than by any previous enumeration on my part.—It remains that I express my acknowledgments to those friends who have taken the trouble to superintend my work in its progress to publication, and have bestowed on it that attention which distance from the place of printing, and the pressure of other avocations put out of my power.

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THE

LIFE OF LUTHER.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE YEAR 1483 TO 1508.

THE year of Luther's birth has not been determined with complete certainty. His mother, when questioned by Melancthon, was accustomed to answer, that she was certain as to the day, (the tenth of November) but not in regard to the year. His brother, James Luther, however, has related, and with the appearance of accuracy, that he was born in the year 1483. The place of his birth was Eisleben or Eislebon, an obscure town in the county of Mansfeld and electorate of Saxony. He was baptized on the following day and called Martin, after the saint to whom that day is dedicated in the Roman calendar. The names of his parents were John Luther and Margaret Lindeman. His father was employed in the mines, and being remarkable for assiduity, rose, in the course of years, from an humble station to

the possession of some property, and discharged with respectability the functions of a local magistrate. In his days of extended reputation Luther did not cease to pay a tribute of respect and affection to his father. He inscribed to him his celebrated book on "Monastic Vows," composed in the year 1521, a time when his fame had become diffused throughout Europe.*

The foundation of that devotional ardour which formed the prominent feature of Luther's character appears to have been laid by the careful tuition of his mother. "*In matre Margareta, cùm cæteræ erant virtutes, tum verò præcipue lucebat pudicitia, timor Dei et invocatio; intuebanturque in eam cæteræ mulieres ut in exemplar virtutum.*" † The impressions of maternal care received confirmation at the school of Eisleben, where Luther was placed under the care of a pious teacher of the name of George Omilius. Notwithstanding the corruption of the church of Rome, and its indifference or rather opposition to the progress of a knowledge of the Scriptures, it was customary to teach the youth catechisms containing the elementary principles of Christianity. At the age of fourteen, Luther was removed to a school at Magdeburg, along with a youth of the name of John Reineck, who eventually rose to distinction, and with whom Luther continued during life in habits of close intimacy. After remaining a year at Magdeburg, he was sent to a school of great repute at the town of Issenach or Eisenach, and placed under the protection, it is said, of his mother's

* See Appendix A.

† Melancthon Præf. T. ii. Luther. Oper.

relations.* Here the foundation of his future eminence was laid. The charge of educating youth was, in that age, entrusted to the Romish clergy, or rather to the different monastic Orders established in that communion. There prevailed among these Orders a considerable degree of competition and rivalship; for by presiding over seminaries of education, and by displaying zeal in teaching, opportunities were afforded them of disseminating their own particular tenets.

The school at Issenach was conducted by Franciscans, and the name of Luther's master was John Trebonius. Rude and tedious as was the mode of teaching in that age, it is probable, that in regard to this seminary, some diminution of difficulty was produced by the care of Trebonius, and the lessons held forth in the instructive writings of Erasmus. "*Erasmi scriptis, jam invitata erant juventutis studia ad Latinæ et Græcæ linguæ cognitionem. Monstrato jam dulciore genere doctrinæ, multi, bonis et liberis ingeniis præditi, abhorrere a barbarica et sophistica doctrina monachorum incipiebant.*"† At this early age Luther, we are told, applied to the study of grammar with all the ardour which characterized his subsequent exertions. His exercises were superior to those of his schoolfellows, and afforded, by their animation and fluency, an assurance of his future eloquence. This was strikingly exemplified in the composition of Latin verses, which formed the subject of emulation between him and his young associates.‡

* Seckend. L. i. 20.

† Melancthon, Præf. in Oper. Luther.—Wittemberg, 1546.

‡ Præf. Melch. ad. Seckend. p. 21.

Having gone through with much applause the ordinary course at school, Luther repaired to the university of Erfurt in the beginning of 1502. The state of universities in that age was worse, if possible, than that of the schools; the mode of teaching philosophy being much more liable to corruption than the simpler process of explaining the elements of language. Though the writings of the Greek and Roman authors had been, by this time, introduced into circulation by means of the art of printing, the general taste was formed on very different models. The highest honours that learning could bestow had for ages been connected with proficiency in a refined and subtile logic, which consisted of little else than an accumulation of metaphysical quibbles. The writings of Aristotle were believed to contain all the science that human genius was capable of acquiring. No latitude was allowed to the exercise of the inventive powers in the cultivation of other departments of knowledge. Even the studies of the Peripatetic school were prosecuted under incalculable disadvantages from perverted translations of the works of its founder, and from commentaries still more intricate than the originals. Year after year was spent by the student in acquiring a familiarity with the complicated rules of the school logic; while physics and ethics were regarded only as convenient materials for the exercise of syllogistic ingenuity. Instead of aiming to arrive at truth by the patient course of inductive reasoning, the ambition of the age was to seek distinction by a dexterous application of syllogism to the solution of all inquiry.

Luther being directed, like the other pupils, to

labour in this unprofitable field, became remarkable in it, as in the languages, for close assiduity and rapid progress. His teacher of logic was an enthusiast in that science. He was named Iodocus,* and in compliance with the fashion of the age assumed the additional title of "Doctor Issenacensis." Not content with promulgating his doctrines from the professorial chair, this indefatigable advocate of Aristotle ventured afterwards to publish a work entitled "Summa Philosophiæ Naturalis." This took place in 1517, by which time Luther was rising fast into reputation, and had begun to expose the absurdity of the scholastic theology. It happened that Iodocus did not long survive his publication; and Luther appears to have apprehended that the tranquillity of his latter years had been disturbed by the rude attacks which his favourite science had received from the hands of his former pupil.*

Though obliged to waste a great deal of time in the construction of barbarous syllogisms, Luther found means to prosecute the study of Latin, and to read Virgil, Livy, Cicero, and other classics. His preceptor in this department was of the name of Grieff, or with the addition of the termination common in these days of classical pedantry, Gryphius. Whether Luther began to learn Greek when at Erfurt or afterwards, has not been ascertained. In most universities Greek and Hebrew were unknown. At the university of Wittemberg, Melancthon was the first professor of Greek. His appointment took place at a date considerably sub-

* See Appendix B.

sequent to the time we are treating of, viz. in 1518, and Luther, though then occupying the station of a professor, did not scruple to avail himself of the classical attainments of his friend and colleague, to extend his knowledge of the Greek language.*

Luther took the degree of master of arts in 1503.† The reputation, which he had acquired by the successful prosecution of his studies, induced his relations to urge him to embrace the profession of the law, a sure road, as they imagined, to the attainment of wealth and honour. He was prevailed on to make a beginning in that study, but his serious and ardent cast of mind soon tended to lead him in a different course. That alteration of his pursuits which the course of inclination would have produced in the progress of years, was accelerated by the occurrence of a most extraordinary circumstance. In the year 1504, walking out one day with a young friend of the name, it is said, of Alexius, they were overtaken by a dreadful thunder-storm, and Alexius was struck dead at his side. The fall of a friend whom he ardently loved, and the awful scene around him, raised in Luther's mind a succession of serious meditations. He saw, or he thought he saw, in a stronger light than ever, the vain and fleeting nature of all terrestrial enjoyments, and determined at once to withdraw himself from their pursuit. Prompt in all his resolutions, he vowed upon the spot that, if God were pleased to deliver him from the danger of his situation, he would enter a monastery, and spend the remainder

* Græcum præceptorem, illo salvo, alium non desidero. Lib. i. Ep. 57. Luth. Præf. Seckend. p. 43.

† See Appendix C.

of his life sequestered from the world and its temptations. It was in vain that his parents, unwilling that he should relinquish the fair prospect before him, endeavoured to dissuade him from this sudden determination. He persisted in his purpose, and regarded the impression of his mind as a special command of the Almighty.

The power of social attachment was strongly felt by Luther, and it required a commanding impulse to make him take a step which was to separate him from his companions and friends. His vow to become a monk had been made in secret, and communicated to none but his parents. From his youthful associates he was aware that he should meet with nothing but dissuasion; his cheerfulness of temper and playfulness of humour possessing attractions which they would be unwilling to relinquish. To these agreeable qualities he added a fine voice and great taste for music; an accomplishment which not only rendered him acceptable in society, but supplied a soothing resource in those accesses of low spirits to which persons of his ardent temperament are occasionally subject. Dear, however, as was the society of his companions, he accounted it indispensable to part from them, and took farewell by calling them together one evening when he entertained them with music, and broke to them his determination as conclusive and irrevocable.

It was in 1505 that Luther entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. From what cause he was induced to give a preference to that Order neither himself nor any of his friends have explained: a silence the more to be regretted, as the

knowledge of the cause might have tended to elucidate several parts of his history. His connection with the Augustinians gave a colouring to his religious opinions, and formed his creed in regard to some leading doctrines of the Gospel, before he had an opportunity of access to the fountain head; for he had not yet seen a copy of the Scriptures.

It may not be foreign to our subject, to say a few words on monastic institutions generally. They have existed, in one form or another, in all countries and climates; but more particularly in India, Egypt, and Syria. The introduction of the Platonic philosophy into the Christian schools of divinity appears to have greatly contributed to their establishment. Some of the early Christians adopted the favourite theory of the Platonists, that the body is an incumbrance to the soul, and that it is in consequence of this union that our faculties are confined within a narrow compass. It was a natural transition to suppose that the more the body was mortified the greater was the approximation to perfection, and that those, who voluntarily submitted to a life of austerity and self-denial, were the favourites of heaven. The first enthusiasts of this description were Paul of Thebes and Antony of Ægypt in the third century. These men were accustomed to practise excessive austerity, and had, in the next century, a number of imitators, though a considerable time elapsed before the followers of monastic habits were associated into a body. The first Order was that of the "Cænobites," or brethren of the "common life," as the word implies, who lived together in fixed habitations; the second were hermits (ἐρημιται) who lived in solitude; and

the third, anchorites (ἀναχωρῆται) who professed to carry the practice of monkish austerities to excess. So far these names were indicative merely of the mode of life; but, in process of time, the monks incorporated themselves into particular societies, under the protection of certain saints. It was in the fifth century that the monks came to be considered in the light of ecclesiastics, and to call for the erection of appropriate buildings. During the dark ages their importance gradually increased, and in the eleventh century the Pope declared them exempted from the jurisdiction of the sovereign of the country which they inhabited.

Luther, ardent in all his undertakings, was impatient to conform, in the fullest manner, to the regulations of his new profession. On assuming the monastic garb, he returned his clothes to his father's house, and sent also his *annulus magisterii*, or ring conferred on him when he was made Master of Arts. His zeal for the patron of his Order, however it had been acquired, was so great that he at one time entertained a wish to exchange his name of Martin for that of Augustine. *Non solum acerrimo studio doctrinam Ecclesiæ discit, sed etiam summa disciplinæ severitate se ipse regit, et omnibus exercitiis lectionum, disputationum, jejuniorum, precum, omnes longe superat.**—The Order of the Augustinians was founded, or rather new modelled, in the thirteenth century, by pope Alexander VI. They followed the rules of the bishop of Hippo, from whom their name was taken, and

* Melancthon—Præf.

whose writings were of course esteemed oracular.* Of the profound ignorance of monks in regard to whatever bore a relation to classical literature, we may form some idea from the tenour of their current maxim; "*Quanto melior Grammaticus, tanto pejor Theologus.*"†

On entering the monastery, Luther left behind him all his books, with the exception of Virgil and Plautus.‡ His preference of the former is easily accounted for by his characteristic gravity, and though the motive of his attachment to the writings of Plautus is less obviously connected with his predominant feelings, we may safely conclude that the wit and good sense of that author must have been the source of the favourable impression. It is also to be kept in mind, that at this period of the Reformer's history, neither his principles nor the manners of the age were calculated to produce that disgust at indecent allusions which he so strongly felt after becoming acquainted with the Scriptures.‖

Luther on embracing the monastic profession was very imperfectly acquainted with the routine of the discipline. In these solitary retreats, according to his anticipation, no intrusion of worldly cares was permitted, and life was wholly devoted to the service of God. But he soon found that the por-

* See Rodolph. Hospinian de Monachis, L. vi. a work which contains a great deal of very curious information, printed at Geneva, 1669. Also Gabriel d'Emilianne's History of the Monastic Orders. London 1693. And Mosheim passim.

† Hollinger de Necessit. Reform. p. 6. To attain a proper idea of the depravity of the monks before the Reformation, see the "Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum."

‡ Seckend. p. 21. ‖ See Appendix D.

tion of humiliating drudgery was not inconsiderable, and that the senior members made it devolve, with an unsparing hand, on the noviciates. This drudgery consisted in the performance of menial and other degrading offices. It is a standing rule in these societies to be independent, either in reality or in appearance, of all external assistance. At one time Luther was obliged to stand as porter at the monastery; at another he was ordered to go through the town to beg. As the monks professed the most abject poverty, the avowal that they lived by begging was accounted no degradation. The rudeness of the age conduced, in some respects, to lessen the mortification; but after making every allowance, it must have been difficult for an independent mind, like Luther's, to reconcile itself to the practice of such an abject employment.* Certain it is that his former cheerfulness was now succeeded by frequent fits of melancholy. His impressions respecting his doom in a future state were of the most gloomy cast. Ignorant as yet of those truths of Christianity which alone can afford relief in such a situation, he was under the necessity of seeking support in the advice of others. He disclosed his case accordingly to Staupitz, the head of his Order in Germany. Staupitz, who, as we shall find in the sequel, was a man of superior understanding, spared no pains to restore his mind to tranquillity. He recommended submission, and told him that such trials could not fail to turn out for his good, adding, it is said, that God was to make use of him for the accomplishment of important purposes.†

* See Appendix E. † Seckendorff, p. 19.

He went farther, and prevailed on the prior of the monastery to exempt Luther from the task of degrading services, and to allow him time for the prosecution of his studies, which until then had been discouraged in the convent.

The general ignorance of classical literature at the time of the Reformation is clearly illustrated in Villers' Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther. This work is ably translated into English, and will be found to contain the best exposition of the political, religious, and literary state of Europe in the 16th century which has yet been published. The faculty of theology at Paris went at this time (see Villers, p. 93) the length of declaring before the parliament assembled, that "*religion was undone if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted.*" The language of the mendicant monks was still more singular: Conrad, of Heresbach, a grave author of that age, relates the following words from the mouth of a monk—"They have invented a new language, which they call Greek: you must be carefully on your guard against it: it is the mother of all heresy. I observe in the hands of many persons a book written in that language, and which they call the *New Testament*. It is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that whoever learns it becomes immediately a Jew."

It was in 1507 (2d May) and in Luther's twenty-fourth year, that he entered into orders and celebrated his first mass. This date is the more remarkable, because he discovered about the same time a Latin copy of the Bible lying in the library

of the monastery. He eagerly laid hold of this neglected book, and persevered in studying it with so much diligence, that he was able in a short time to refer with ease and promptitude to any particular passage. In the present day, we can with difficulty conceive how a copy of the Bible could remain unnoticed by the whole of a religious fraternity, or that a person so respectably educated as Luther, should be unapprized that the whole of the Scriptures was not read to the people in the public service of the church. It was with no small surprise that he discovered that there were many passages in the New Testament that were not thus read. The most striking of these Luther committed to memory, and treasured up, with equal diligence, many parts of the Prophetic Scriptures.* The History of Hannah and Samuel made, we are told, a strong impression on him.† Samuel had been dedicated to God from his infancy; and Luther, in the fervour of his devotional zeal, seems to have regretted that an equally early consecration had not fallen to his own lot.‡

In this zealous prosecution of his studies, he had little opportunity of deriving assistance from the labours of others. The writings of the Fathers, with the exception of those of Augustine, were

* Seckendorff, p. 21. † 1 Sam. ch. i. ii. Melchior Adam,

‡ So minutely have anecdotes relative to Luther been recorded, that the copy of the Bible which he found is said to have been bound in red morocco. He read it over and over with such fixed attention as to impress on his mind a local recollection of many remarkable passages. The same was the case with him in regard to the voluminous writings of Saint Augustine; a circumstance, which contributed a good deal to facilitate references in in his frequent controversies.

wholly unknown to him. His knowledge of Greek was very imperfect, and with Hebrew he was entirely unacquainted.* Besides, the only copy of the Scriptures as yet in his possession was the Latin vulgate. Erasmus had not yet published his edition of the New Testament, and since the days of Jerome, no very eminent example had been given of the application of sound criticism to the sacred canon.† Deprived thus of information from the researches of others, Luther would often spend a whole day in meditating on a few particular passages. To this he was prompted equally by thirst of information, and the disquieted state of his mind. Before his acquaintance with the Bible, he had, like other persons, been satisfied with the current doctrines, and had never thought of examining a subject in which he suspected no error. Now, however, he was sufficiently advanced to perceive that his early creed must be abandoned, without having gone far enough to find another in its place. His former melancholy returned, and continued to do so at intervals, until his views of divine truth acquired clearness and consistency. During his state of uncertainty, when reflecting on the wrath of God and on the extraordinary examples of punishment recorded in Scripture, he was sometimes struck with such terror, as almost to faint away. "I have seen him," says Melancthon, "so much agitated by eagerness of temper when engaged in a dispute on doctrine, as to find it necessary to throw himself on a bed in an adjoining chamber, where he would fall down in prayer, and frequently repeat these

* See Appendix F. † Seckend. p. 21.

words: 'He hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all."

In those agitations of mind, Luther's resort was to the works of Augustine, who was in his eyes an oracle of equal price as Jerome in those of Erasmus. When we consider that these Fathers had long been raised to the rank of saints, while their writings were regarded as on a level with the Scriptures, we shall find little cause of surprise at the extent of the predilection, however extravagant, of Erasmus and Luther. It required the lapse of another century, and the labour of future reformers, to show the comparative unimportance of the authority of the early ecclesiastical writers. This was first done with success by the celebrated French protestant John Daillè, in his valuable treatise concerning the use of the Fathers, published in 1631; since which, it has been generally understood that the proper defence of Christianity is to be sought in the Scriptures alone.

Luther, absorbed in study, and averse to consume time in the uninstructive routine of Romish ceremonies, became unmindful of the forms of the monastery. He would read and write with such ardour for days together, as to overlook the hours prescribed for divine service by the canons. He was, on the other hand, rigid in the observance of the penance enjoined to his profession. Under the absurd impression that uncommon virtue is attached to abstinence, the Catholic priest and his people are directed, on pain of excommunication, to celebrate mass fasting. Those who act up to the letter of the law, make it a rule to abstain from food from midnight to noon. Luther, strictly conscientious, was

accustomed to read mass in the course of his duty without partaking of nourishment; and it appears, that he was sometimes induced to try his power of abstinence so far as to fast for three days successively, an experiment unavoidably attended with the most debilitating effects. These, joined to excess of sedentary application, brought on an illness, which had nearly assumed a fatal aspect. The terrors of divine wrath, and the horrors of perpetual punishment, bewildered his imagination, and despair had nearly overpowered him, when the soothing interpretations of an old brother of the Order brought consolation to his distracted mind. This venerable monk conversed with him at great length, taking as his text the article in the creed; "I believe in the remission of sins;" and impressing him with the conviction that "justification was of grace by faith."* The perusal of a discourse of Bernard, on the "Annunciation," tended farther to confirm Luther in the reception of this doctrine. It became a favourite subject with him in his future writings, and his opinion of it is explained at large in his Commentary on the "Epistle to the Galatians," a work which he was accustomed to prefer to all his other publications. In this point, as in many others, his belief was founded on the reasoning of his admired Augustine.

It is but fair to the Augustinians to remark that, amid the general ignorance of the age, they were not altogether so inattentive to the study of divinity as the other religious Orders. This is proved by several circumstances. At the reformation of the

* See Appendix G.

theological faculty or college at Paris, towards the beginning of the 16th century, the Augustinian monks were selected to furnish the college of divinity with a Scriptural bachelor.* Luther, too, found in his Augustine superior, Staupitz, a zealous adviser of the study of the Scriptures, in preference to any other pursuit. In the technical language of the times, Staupitz recommended to him to become a good "*Textualis et Localis*," by which he meant the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of the texts of Scripture, and an expertness in quoting them. Stimulated by this advice, and by his own ardour, Luther did not confine himself to solitary study, but frequently preached and did other duty for the clergymen settled in the neighbouring villages. This exercise answered the double purpose of instructing the people, and of giving him that facility in public speaking which is to be attained by practice only.†

The more we examine the theological works published before the time of Luther, the less will be our surprise at his hesitation and embarrassment in respect to points of faith which are now put out of all doubt. These works were, in general, of a class much fitter to perplex than instruct. The least defective publications of recent date were the writings and sermons of the unfortunate Savonarola, and the

* Each of the mendicant Orders had been formerly called on for a Scriptural bachelor; but at the Reformation the call was confined to the Augustinians; a compliment sufficiently indicative of their superior information. Luther was a Scriptural bachelor (Mosh. vol. iii. p. 458, note q.) and so was Melancthon. Seckend. p. 43.

† See Appendix H.

well known book, "De Imitatione Christi," ascribed to Thomas a Kempis. In justice to the works of Taulerus too, it must be admitted that, though interspersed with mystical jargon, they had been instrumental in cherishing a spirit of devotion, and in diffusing, on the subject of Christianity, notions somewhat less inaccurate than had hitherto been current. They had been of service likewise, by attracting attention to the works of Augustine and Bernard.* But these books, taken all together, formed feeble guides in the wide field of theology to an anxious and inquiring mind.

* See Appendix I.

CHAPTER II.

FROM 1508 TO 1517.

THE discovery of the art of printing had, by this time, promoted considerably the revival of learning. Among the German princes, the more enlightened became strongly impressed with the advantages attendant on the establishment of respectable seminaries of education. At a Diet held at Worms, in 1495, it had been agreed among the electors that each should become the founder of a university. Luther's sovereign, Frederick, elector of Saxony, surnamed the Sage, was fully alive to the advantages of erecting such an establishment in his territory. He had fixed its site at Wittemberg, and was at this time anxiously employed in the selection of able teachers. Staupitz, being consulted in regard to the scholars among the Augustinians, had no hesitation in bearing a flattering testimony to the attainments of Luther. The consequence was the appointment of Luther to an academical chair in the university of Wittemberg, in 1508, at the early age of twenty-five.

The department which Luther was called to fill was the professorship of logic. He was fitted for it as well by his general erudition, as by an expertness at the scholastic philosophy, acquired by the habit of reading public lectures at Erfurt. Now that it became the regular object of his official duty, he im-

mersed himself in the study of it with redoubled ardour, and became such a proficient, as to be able almost to recite by heart the logical commentaries of Gabriel and Cammeracensis.* To this thorough acquaintance with his subject, he joined the advantage of a prompt elocution. Nothing fell from him with an air of indifference; all was clear and animated, and he soon became not only an able but a highly popular professor.

His labours in the philosophical chair, ardent as they were, had by no means the effect of rendering him inattentive to ecclesiastical affairs. A circumstance, which soon after occurred, showed the extent of his reputation among his Augustinian brethren. A dispute having taken place in regard to matters of discipline, between the vicar general of the Augustinians in Saxony and seven of the convents subject to his jurisdiction, Luther was considered a fit person to proceed to Rome, and procure a satisfactory settlement of the point in question.† Unacquainted with the habits of the Romish dignitaries, and a stranger, in a great measure, to the corrupt ways of the world, Luther imagined that on visiting the holy city, the residence of the Vicar of Christ, he was about to become a witness of the exercise of every Christian virtue. How great then was his surprise on beholding the luxury, licentiousness, and de-

* See Appendix K.

† Ulenberg, Vit. Luther. p. 9. This author may be relied on in the present case, although, in general, his hostility to Luther leads him into misrepresentation. He says of the Reformer, *erat acri quidem et felici, sed vehementi, pertinaci atque impetuosa ingenio.* For a character of Ulenberg, see Claude's Defence of the Reformation, p. 102. Ed. 1673.

bauchery, which pervaded all ranks. "I have seen," he says, "the pope and the pope's court, and I have had opportunity of personally observing the morals of the Roman clergy.—"I celebrated mass there, and I had occasion to see it celebrated by others, with so much indecency that I am still unable to think of it without disgust.—I have seen courtesans place themselves at the very altar, laughing and behaving in the most irreverent manner. I have heard them say over the bread and wine at the altar: 'Bread thou art, and thou shalt remain bread; wine thou art, and thou shalt remain wine."—The Italian clergy were accustomed to say mass with so much haste and indifference, that before Luther came to the Gospel part of the service, they had found means to run through the whole, and ridiculed him openly for the devotional air with which he performed it. Disgusting as were these scenes, their practical influence on Luther's future conduct was of the most beneficial kind. They contributed more than any thing to open his eyes to papal delusion, and he used often afterwards to exclaim, "That he would not, for the value of a thousand florins, have missed the instruction afforded him by the journey to Rome." We must, notwithstanding, keep in mind that his dislike was confined, at this early period, to the conduct of individuals: the time was not yet come for the adoption of a similar feeling towards the institutions of the church. Distant, however, as it was, several of his friends had already ventured to predict that he would one day confound the doctors, and lay the foundation of a new creed. They founded their expectation on his intimate acquaintance with Scrip-

ture, and on his deriving from it "principles which neither Sophists, Scotists, Albertists, nor Thomists, could controvert." In truth it was his acquaintance with the sacred volume which gave him, as we shall see hereafter, a decided advantage over his antagonists. "This kind of knowledge was so rare," says Mosheim,* "that when Luther arose, there could not be found, even in the university of Paris, which was considered as the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine, upon a scripture foundation."

On returning from Rome, Luther took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. This title was conferred on him under flattering circumstances; the elector Frederick voluntarily engaging to defray the expense, and the Augustinians using much entreaty to prevent his declining the proffered honour. The possession of this literary distinction was eventually conducive both to his personal safety and to the success of the Reformation. It conferred on him the right of teaching publickly, as well as privately; a right which he never failed to urge when his opponents wished to prevent him from delivering public discourses. Frederick now condescended to hear him preach, and was much struck with the strength and soundness of his doctrine. *Audivit Fredericus concionantem; et vim ingenii, et nervos orationis ac rerum bonitatem expositarum in concionibus, admiratus est.*†

Divinity continuing Luther's favourite study, the elector was pleased to accede to his wish of direct-

* Vol. iii. p. 298. † Melancth. Præf.

ing his attention to it exclusively, and permitted him in 1512, to exchange the philosophical for the theological chair in the university. It would be difficult to conceive any thing more erroneous or perverted than the mode of teaching divinity in those days. The plain doctrines and precepts of the Gospel were little known; and divinity, like morals and physics, was considered a mere praxis, on which to found a display of logical dexterity. The influence of this vitiated routine affected Luther, as well as his cotemporaries, and has been found to leave its traces on a later age.—It may not be uninstructive to trace, at some length, the rise and progress of the singular alliance which so long existed between Christianity and the Greek philosophy. If we go back to its commencement, we find that Platonism was the system first connected with our religion. Origen, the author of this extraordinary conjunction, was born in Alexandria, about the year 185, and was taught his philosophic creed by the Platonists of that degenerate school. Applying the habit of system-making to religion, he became the first who attempted to reduce the tenets of Christianity into a connected scheme. Before the time of this philosopher no other arrangement than that of the New Testament had been thought of. In the labours of Origen, the execution is more open to reprehension than the intention. Partial to the creed of the latter Platonists, he was unwilling to account any part of it irreconcileable to the Christian doctrine, and accordingly undertook the arduous, or rather impracticable task, of establishing their harmony and coincidence. No doubt of the divine authority of both seems ever to have entered

his mind; and the influence of his name, joined to the great popularity of the Alexandrian academy, soon made it fashionable to incorporate their doctrines with the religion of Jesus.*

The Platonic philosophy bore, it must be admitted, a nearer resemblance to Christianity than any other system. The study of it had a tendency to excite meditation on the nature of the Deity, and on the relation between the Supreme Being and the human mind. But the latter Platonists went infinitely beyond the outline prescribed by their founder, and carried their credulity so far, as to imagine that every difficulty or mystery in Christianity might be solved by means of a reference to his writings. It was in this manner that they attempted to explain the nature of the Trinity, of the person of Christ, of the Incarnation, and of other doctrines of equal obscurity. The author of the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, (but which were in reality written towards the end of the fifth century), carried the matter still farther, and sought in Platonic principles an explanation of the Scripture appellations of God, as well as of the nature of the hierarchy, and many other questions equally remote from the compass of Greek philosophy.

After the lapse, however, of three centuries, a time approached when the popularity of the alliance between Christianity and Platonism was about to be shaken; and the latter was to yield its place to the Peripatetic doctrine. In the sixth century, Boëthius began to apply the principles of Aristotle to an ex-

* See Appendix L.

planation of Christian tenets, and in the eighth century, John, of Damascus, both published an abridgment of Aristotle's philosophy, and made use of it in a work in which he attempted to reduce all questions in theology to a system. The circumstance of Origen being deemed a heretic by the church, was a powerful argument for gradually exchanging the Platonic for the Aristotelian doctrine, and, by the eleventh century, the analytics of Aristotle became very generally taught. John the Sophist, Rosceline, and Anselm, were the first who gave extensive popularity to that method. They were succeeded by the famous Abelard, Gilbert, and others, who read public lectures on the Aristotelian logic.—Otho, of Freisinghen, is considered to have been the first who introduced it into Germany.

But it may be fairly suspected that neither the plausible character of the Aristotelian logic, nor the zeal of its advocates, could have rendered its adoption so general, if the church of Rome had not stood in need of its aid. Its abstract and subtile nature presented a very convenient medium for the defence of the absurdities of the Catholic creed. The obscurities of transubstantiation were transformed into plausible doctrines by the magic of the mood and figure of the founder of the Pagan Lyceum. In the days of Luther, the teachers of divinity might be divided into three classes, according as they had adopted the respective tenets of the *Positivi*, the *Sententiarii*, or the *Mystici*.—The *Positivi* had several additional appellations, being called, *Biblici*, or Bible Doctors, *Dogmatici* or Didactic Divines, and *Veteres* or Ancients. Their method appears to have been liable to fewer objec-

tions than that of the others. Though in their illustrations of religious doctrines, they unfortunately disregarded the aid of learning or reflection, they not unfrequently made reference to Scripture for the confirmation of their tenets. An undue reverence for tradition indeed led many of them astray; yet we can perceive in their attempts to explain the Old and New Testaments, the outline of a plan which, in a less ignorant age, would have led to instructive conclusions.

The "Sententiarii" were by far the most numerous and popular of these sects. Their name was derived from the deference which they showed to the "Magister Sententiarum," the noted Peter Lombard, archbishop of Paris, in the middle of the twelfth century, author of the four books of "Sentences." This work consisted of a compilation of passages, extracted from the writings of the Fathers, and was an attempt both to reconcile their contradictions and to correct the errors already introduced by the scholastic philosophy. Though now an object of contempt, this production was so thoroughly adapted to the standard of the age, that it was soon received as a text-book throughout European seminaries, and the task of commenting on it became a favourite object of rivalship. From its contradiction, in various respects, to the system of theology defended by the school logic, the Sententiarii were at first cautious of taking the latter as the vehicle of their speculations; but the magic of the Aristotelian name, and the influence of the celebrated Abelard,* proved superior to all objections.

* See Appendix M.

The explanation of the "Sentences," and the cultivation of the school logic went, by a happy coincidence, hand in hand; while, to complete the delusion, the adherents of this creed thought proper to overlook all reference to the authority of the Scriptures.

The Mystici, or Mystics, differed considerably from either of the preceding. Their great rule was to loosen the stress laid on the externals of religion, and to direct the attention to the cultivation of the love of God. They were in general persons of warm temper and upright intentions, exemplary in their morals, but strongly actuated by enthusiasm. Although Luther, in his lectures on divinity, does not appear to have adhered to any of these sects, we may safely infer, that from constitutional feeling he was attached to the Mystics; while his plan of literary research approached to that of the Biblical Doctors.

Divinity having now become the object of Luther's professional duty, as well as of his choice, he immersed himself in the study of it with redoubled ardour. It was in his eyes the "*nucleus nucis*," the "*medulla tritici et ossium.*"*

The first subject on which he delivered lectures was the Epistle to the Romans, a choice probably founded on a desire to explain to his pupils his conception of the Doctrine of Justification. His next exercise was an illustration of the Book of Psalms, in which he chiefly followed the exposition of Augustine. As he advanced in his researches, he became, as is usual, more conscious of his deficien-

* Seckend. p. 19.

cies. He now felt the necessity of acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew. One of the most eminent restorers of learning, John Reuchlin, surnamed Capnion,* had already enforced the necessity of a knowledge of this language to all who aimed at proficiency in Biblical criticism; but he had been opposed by the whole host of scholastic philosophers. Luther, however, thought differently, and spared no pains to drink deep of Scripture knowledge at the fountain head. Nor did he fail to direct a portion of his time and labour to the study of Greek, although it does not appear that he was anxious to make much farther progress in that language than was necessary to a thorough acquaintance with the New Testament. We have no evidence of his giving much attention to the perusal of Greek classics; but his omission of this branch of study is to be attributed more to the absorption of his mind in theological pursuits, than to an imperfect knowledge of the language, his acquaintance with which is attested by very competent judges.†

In proportion as Luther's views became extended, his antipathy to the Aristotelian philosophy increased. This is apparent from his letters to Spalatin in 1514 and 1516; and a letter to John Langus, a zealous Aristotelian, written February 8, 1516, contains this whimsical declaration. "If,"

* See Appendix N.

† Ipse etiam Lutherus Græcæ et Hebraicæ linguæ studiis se dedere cœpit, ut cognita sermonis proprietate et phrasi, et hausta ex fontibus doctrina, dexterius judicare possit. Melanct. Præf.

Lutherus harum linguarum (Græcarum et Hebraicarum) rudis non est. Erasmi Adagia. Op. tom. iii. p. 633.

said Luther, "I did not know that Aristotle was a man, I would not be ashamed to say he was the devil." Yet, though Luther was aware of the fallacy of the school logic in the investigation of truth, the influence which it continued to have on his habits exhibited a remarkable proof of the strength of early impressions. It is in a great measure to the turn for disputation created by a scholastic education, that we are to attribute the subsequent occurrence of dissensions between him and his friends, as well as some remarkable tenets bequeathed by him to his followers, and maintained by Protestant sects to the present day.

The gradual and almost imperceptible progress towards change in the mind of Luther, prevented any suspicion from being excited by his early discoveries of fallacy in the Romish creed. His official superior, Staupitz, had no hesitation in appointing him his vicar, to examine into the state of the monasteries in Saxony, and to exercise in his absence a general superintendence. In this capacity Luther had occasion to visit nearly forty Augustinian monasteries, which gave him a very favourable opportunity of disseminating instruction, as well as of laying the foundation of that personal attachment to himself, which was so fully displayed in his subsequent troubles. No man, however, was less solicitous to make a study of ingratiating himself with the world. Of this some idea may be formed by an extract of a letter addressed, June 8, 1516, to Spalatin, in which, speaking of his sovereign, the elector, he says, "Many things please your prince, and are wonderfully esteemed by him, which displease and are an abomination to God. I do not

deny, that in the transaction of the ordinary affairs of life he is the most prudent of men; but in things which relate to God, or the salvation of the soul, I esteem him, as well as Pfeffinger,* almost seven times blind."

Luther discovered equal candour in acknowledging his slow progress in attaining the knowledge which produced his change of religious opinion. In the preface to his works, written a short time before his death, he thus expressed himself: "I was at first alone, and certainly unskilful, and unfit for the management of so great affairs. I mention these things, that he who shall read my works may keep in mind that I was one of those who (as Augustine writes of himself) profited by writing and teaching, and not one of those, who from nothing are said to become suddenly very great divines, though they have neither laboured, attempted, nor experienced any thing; but, by one glance at Scripture, are said to make themselves perfectly masters of its spirit."

The following passage is from the same preface, and is extremely characteristic of Luther's vehemence: "Let the reader know that I was formerly a monk, and that when I engaged in the cause of Reformation, I was a most frantic papist; so intoxicated, nay, so drenched in the dogmas of the pope, that I was quite ready to put to death, if I had been able, or to co-operate with those who would have put to death persons who refused obedience to the pope in any single article. Thus, I was not ice and coldness itself, in defending the

* Pfeffinger was chamberlain and minister to Frederick. Seckend. p. 20.

papacy, like Eckius and his associates, who appeared to me to act more from selfishness *(ventris causâ)*, than from conviction. Even to this day they seem to me to do the same, and to make a mockery of the pope like Epicureans. I, on the other hand, was in thorough earnest, being dreadfully afraid of the day of judgment, and desirous, from my inmost soul, to be saved."*

It would gratify a laudable curiosity to be able to trace with accuracy Luther's progressive advance in knowledge and change of views; but until 1517, when he declared himself in open hostility to the church of Rome, our materials, in this respect, are scanty. Few of his early letters have been preserved. Among those which remain, one of the most remarkable was written the year before the period which we have mentioned. It was addressed to Spalatin, his steady friend and advocate at the court of Saxony. It bears date October 19, 1516, and contains observations on the works of the Fathers, but more particularly on the mode of studying or interpreting the Scriptures attempted in the preceding year by Erasmus.

"The reasons," says Luther, "which induce me to oppose Erasmus, a very learned person, are the following. In interpreting what the Apostle says with respect to the righteousness of works, or of the law, or one's own righteousness, he understands the ceremonial and figurative observances enjoined by the Mosaic law. And again, although he admits the doctrine of original sin, he seems unwilling to allow that the apostle treats of that

* See Appendix O.

subject in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Now, whoever has read what Augustine has written against the Pelagians, especially in his treatise on the "Spirit and Letter;" his discourse on the "Merit and Remission of Sins," and his arguments against two letters of the Pelagians, and against Julian, must perceive how little he indulges in his own sentiments; rather expressing what Cyprian, Nazianzen, Rheticius,* Irenæus, Hilary, Olympius, Innocent, and Ambrose have defended. Perhaps Erasmus does not rightly understand the meaning of the apostle, but Augustine is worthy of more credit than he has been willing to grant him. Indeed I do not hesitate to dissent so far from Erasmus, that, in regard to interpreting Scripture, I prefer Augustine as much to Jerome, as he prefers Jerome to Augustine. Not that I am compelled to approve of what Augustine has delivered, in consequence of my profession as a monk of his Order, or that I valued his works much before I had an opportunity of perusing them; but because I perceive that Jerome has devoted the whole of his attention to the *historical* meaning of Scripture. It is a singular circumstance that he expounds Scripture much more happily when he treats of it incidentally, as in his letters, than when he attempts a formal exposition, as in his *Opuscula*. The righteousness of the law or of works does not consist in the observance of ceremonies, but rather in obeying all that the *Decalogue* enjoins. Actions performed independently of the faith of Christ

* Rheticius was bishop of Autun, and flourished about the year 320. Vid. Trethem. de Script. Eccles. ap. Bibliothec. Ecclesiast. Fabric. p. 18. See also Cave's Hist. Lit.

such as were done by the *Fabricii*, *Reguli*, and other persons, who are held in estimation among men, but whose motives were not influenced by the Gospel; such works, I say, had no more relation to what in the Scripture is called *righteousness*, than apples have to figs. I oppose the doctrine of Aristotle, who says that by doing justly we are '*justified*,' unless that term be used in a peculiar sense. The just perform good works, but it is first necessary that the state of the person be changed; the works follow of course—Abel was accepted before his offerings—but of this elsewhere. I am now to beg that you will discharge the duty of a friend and of a Christian, and inform Erasmus of what I have written. I hope, and am anxiously desirous, that his authority may become celebrated; I am at the same time afraid lest, by means of the same authority, many may be induced to adopt the manner of defending the literal method, that is the *dead letter*, of which Lyra's commentary is full, and almost all commentators since the days of Augustine."*

This letter is interesting as containing an exposition of Luther's sentiments on a most important doctrine in opposition to the church, before he had any thought of commencing the work of Reformation. The time, however, was now arriving, when that opposition, though confined to mere opinion, was about to create him enemies. Saxony was at that time divided into two principalities, governed by two distinct branches of the House of Saxony. Frederick, as representative of the elder

* Seckend. p. 23.

branch, held the rank of elector; George, head of the younger branch, was the hereditary ruler of an extensive territory, comprehending Dresden, Leipsic, and several other cities of importance. He had the title of duke, and was extremely different, both in his religious creed and in general disposition, from his relation Frederick. Having heard of Luther's fame, and having prevailed on Staupitz to send him to Dresden to preach, the Reformer, instead of selecting inoffensive topics, had the boldness to deliver his real sentiments on the "assurance of faith and predestination." Not satisfied with declaring tenets at open variance with those of the bigotted court of Dresden, he held a public disputation in that city with the sect of Thomists, on the twenty-fifth of July, 1517, the nature of which, in connection with his previous discourse, made a lasting impression on the duke and those around him. We shall in the sequel have frequent occasion to recur to the conduct of this prince, and to notice his inveterate hostility to Luther and the Reformation.

CHAPTER III.

YEAR 1517.

WE are now arrived at that part of Luther's history when, from a state of obscurity, he ventured to come forward as the antagonist of the doctrines of the church. We shall find him promulgating his opinions from the outset with a boldness which attracted the attention of all Germany, yet nothing was farther from his wish than to proceed to the extremity of a quarrel with the See of Rome. He was in many respects not only a sincere but a zealous Catholic. Besides, the power of the church was so transcendent as to render almost ridiculous any deliberate project of opposition on the part of an individual. To question the foundation of her authority had been hitherto accounted not only an aggression on the laws of civil society but rebellion against the will of God. The papal decrees were ratified, it was believed, in heaven; nay, the presence of the Almighty, it was affirmed, attended his church and protected her from error. She was thus considered to possess the right of demanding unlimited submission to her decrees. The antiquity of her doctrine was deemed incontrovertible evidence of its truth; and above all, it was accounted the duty of every Christian to maintain the "unity of the faith." The memory of those who had attempted

to propagate new doctrines was held in detestation, and even Luther, as we shall see hereafter, was retarded in his bold career by the dread of incurring the name of schismatic.

In addition to this powerful hold over public opinion, the leaders of the church possessed the command of more direct weapons of offence. Excommunication and capital punishment had, in former ages, been employed with fatal success in crushing the spirit of innovation. The Bohemians were now silent. The Waldenses and Albigenses were contented to live in the fastnesses of the Alps, purchasing the liberty of free worship by seclusion from the rest of the world. Nor was there any reason to expect that the ecclesiastical rulers of the sixteenth century would be more disposed than their predecessors to forego an appeal to decisive extremities.*

If we look to the personal character of the Pontiffs, who preceded the æra of the Reformation, we find that the multiplied crimes of Julius and Borgia had degraded them in the eyes of the well-informed part of the European community; but the disgrace attached infinitely less to the office than to the individual. Many persons were to be found, and among the rest Luther, who bowed de-

* The history of the Waldenses is comparatively little known among us. Many curious particulars respecting them are to be found in the History of the Evangelical Churches of the vallies of Piedmont, by Samuel Morland. Morland was Cromwell's Commissioner Extraordinary for the affairs of those vallies. He deposited the originals from which he derived his materials in the public library of the university of Cambridge. His history was published at London, in 1658, and is dedicated to the Protector.

voutly to the See of Rome, without entertaining much respect for the character of its occupants. By this time too the papal chair had begun to recover from the stain consequent on the conduct of these unprincipled pontiffs. Leo X. had been advanced to the purple, and brought with him all the fame of the House of Medici, along with the reputation attached to the liberal patronage of literature and the arts. He thus secured the praises of that class in society who were most likely to disseminate his popularity; and, his vices remaining concealed from the public eye, the Reformation had to struggle with the odium of opposition to a respected pontiff. All these circumstances concur to show, that had it not been for the interference of an overruling Providence, the Reformation could not possibly have taken place.

The coffers of the church of Rome being emptied by a course of extravagant dissipation, Leo had recourse to the sale of "Indulgences." Indulgences, such as they were now represented, may be defined, "remissions of any sin whatever on payment of a sum of money according to a fixed table of rates." This extraordinary traffic was defended on the pretended authority of Scripture, and by a reference to the conduct of the Apostles, whose successors the heads of the Romish church think proper to style themselves. Though a commerce something similar had subsisted at a very early period, the year 1100 may be looked on as the date of the commencement of Indulgences, such as they continued at the æra of the Reformation. The frenzy of recovering the Holy Land had at that time seized the Christian world, and it was the

custom to regard the persons engaged in these extravagant enterprises, as the most effectual labourers for the glory of God. While the military combatants were actuated by enthusiasm, the ecclesiastical leaders looked to the more substantial considerations of increase of authority and revenue. Pope Urban II. went the length of granting Plenary Indulgences, or the remission of all sins, to those who should embark in the attempt of recovering the holy sepulchre from the hands of infidels. His successors found it necessary to alter and extend the conditions of obtaining this most acceptable boon. Many persons willing to embark in the holy warfare were unable to quit their homes and their families. The alternative in that case was to furnish a substitute, an arrangement which the church of Rome admitted as a title to the grant of an "Indulgence."

When the warfare against the Turks ceased to interest the majority of Europe, one of the chief classes of persons to whom the church conferred Indulgences, was the zealots who showed themselves vehement in the persecution of dissenters, or, to use the clerical term, heretics. Next came, in the time of Boniface VIII. the appointment of a Jubilee, or periodical resort of Christians to Rome. The advantages to the church of such an institution are sufficiently obvious. It had a direct tendency to establish the supremacy of the Roman patriarch, and to bring an influx of wealth into the Holy City. The regular term of the stay there was thirty days, with a conditional limitation to fifteen, if the devotee had come from a very great distance. The profligate Boniface published

Indulgences to all who should repair to Rome in the year 1300, and every fiftieth year from that time. The scheme having succeeded, Clement VI. gave notice in 1342, that Indulgences would be dispensed in 1350. Succeeding popes continued the gainful expedient, and two of them thought proper to abridge the duration of the interval between the Jubilees, Urban VI. having reduced it to thirty three years, and Paul II. to twenty-five. The revolution of the Jubilee in 1500 took place under Alexander VI. who went beyond his predecessors in this kind of traffic, as well as in other iniquity.*

From the history of "Indulgences," we now proceed to say a few words about their nature and supposed efficacy. Here we very soon find ourselves on disputed ground. Generally speaking, Indulgences were understood as remissions of penance. At first they proceeded from bishops only; but afterwards penitentiary priests, and, in course of time, confessors of all descriptions were invested with the power of this important distribution. It was understood that the remissions were derived less from ecclesiastical authority than from the merits of the saints. These merits, in as far as they exceeded what was necessary for the salva-

* Of Alexander VI.'s bull about Indulgences, Felix Faber, a monk of Ulm, writes, "The Pope hath sealed this bull with a leaden seal, because he is high priest of the Christian world. Peter's head is engraven on the seal, to intimate that by his keys heaven is opened to them who pay due regard to the bull. The head of Paul is also upon it, to signify that by the sword of Paul those who disregard the bull shall be driven to hell, &c." This monk's commentary may be seen at length in Seckend. p. 9.

tion of the saints, were collected, as our credulous forefathers believed, into a coffer of which the pope kept the key, and was enabled to dispose as he thought proper. As the merits of the saints amounted only to a finite sum, it was found politic to add to the stock the infinite merits of our Saviour. This being once declared, the merits of the saints were accounted by many persons like a few small drops, while those of Christ formed an immense ocean. The buyer of an Indulgence was understood to receive a portion of these superabundant merits, sufficient to constitute either a pardon for his own sins, or the release of a deceased relation from the pains of purgatory.

Four hundred years had now elapsed since the popes had begun the distribution of "Indulgences." In resorting to their sale, Leo is said to have been actuated by the advice of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci.* In taking this step, Leo committed no innovation, but he discovered a strange inattention to the altered state of society and the increased diffusion of knowledge. Plethoric in constitution and fond of ease and pleasure, he was little disposed to contemplate the unfavourable side of things, or to apprehend mischief from the indecent urgency with which the business was conducted. As if it had not been enough to extend the purchase of pardons to the living, these ecclesiastical charms were declared capable of relieving from purgatory the souls of the dead. Indulgences were also issued to eat flesh, eggs, milk, cheese, and butter upon fast days, and the liberty of choosing one's own confessor was

* See Appendix P.

granted on payment of a stipulated compensation. The papal briefs for this purpose were expedited in 1514 and 1515, but the sale of the Indulgences did not commence till 1516 and 1517.

In support of such collections, it was customary for the court of Rome to address itself to some of the strongest feelings of a Christian community. On the present occasion, the ostensible motives were the expense of carrying on the war against the Turkish infidels, and of finishing in a style of magnificence the church of St. Peter at Rome. The money, however, went to neither purpose, but was lavished in gratifying the luxury of the court of Rome and of its dependents. It is even reported that a considerable portion of the expected produce of the Indulgences was mortgaged by anticipation. The sum to be levied from Saxony and the neighbouring part of Germany was appropriated, we are told by Guicciardini,* (though others say differently) to the pope's sister, Magdalen, as a compensation for the expense which Leo had occasioned to her family, on being obliged, in the time of Alexander VI. to take refuge in Genoa. Magdalen's husband was Franceschetto Cibo, a natural son of Innocent VIII. who, in consequence of this alliance with the House of Medici, had created Leo a cardinal at the early age of fourteen, and thus laid the foundation of his future greatness. Magdalen, reckoning with confidence on the collection of a large sum from the Indulgences, appointed as her deputies, Arcemboldi, a person remarkable for his avarice, and Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. The latter

* See Appendix Q.

employed as his quæstor, as such officers were called, one John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, whose character was notoriously immoral. He had been capitally convicted of adultery, and sentenced to be thrown headlong into the river Inn, but pardoned by the emperor at the intercession of the elector Frederick.

Of the different monastic fraternities of the church, none at this time were more active than the Dominicans. The Inquisition had been instituted by their founder, and now continued under their direction. The individuals composing the Order were remarkable for a strong *esprit de corps*, so that altogether their popularity and power were great. The sale of Indulgences having been intrusted chiefly to them, the earliest opponents of the Reformation appeared, as we shall find in the sequel, among their ranks. Tetzel seems to have been selected for the traffic in Indulgences in Saxony, on account of his activity and popular address, recommendations however which were greatly outweighed by his demerits. He was not only grossly ignorant, but petulant and presumptuous in the extreme. In extolling the efficacy of the Indulgences, he ventured, in the sixteenth century, to go to a length which could hardly have been tolerated in the darkest of the Gothic ages. In his harangues it was not unusual for him to make the disgusting affirmation, "that had any one debauched, were it possible, the mother of our Saviour, the Indulgence would be adequate to the conveyance of absolution."* No wonder that such impious declamations roused

* See Appendix R.

Luther from a state of solitary meditation to active opposition. It appears, on his own authority, that he was engaged, at the time of the commencement of Tetzel's operations, in studying divinity for the instruction of his class, and, in particular, the doctrine of repentance.* He candidly confesses that, on beginning to question the sale of Indulgences, he knew nothing of their origin or history. Other members of the church were, he adds, in general as ignorant as himself; the Indulgences deriving their weight solely from the authority of usage. His researches accordingly originated, less in a desire of effecting a change in the distribution of Indulgences, than from an eagerness to ascertain their real nature. As he could not, to borrow an expression of his own, obtain information from the dead, meaning the writings of lawyers and divines, he determined to apply for instruction to the living, and to form his opinion by the answer of the church.†

Luther seems to have laid great stress on Tetzel's overbearing and disgusting manner. This, no doubt, was calculated to provoke him extremely, but we are informed by Myconius,‡ a cotemporary and friend of Luther, that there was another and a more direct reason. In addition to the duty of teaching his class and preaching, Luther occasionally heard confessions. In the exercise of this function, in the year 1517, some persons came to him to confess, and though guilty of serious crimes, refused to undergo the penance prescribed by him, because they

* Luther. i. 100.

† Luther. i. 50.

‡ Ap. Seckend. p. 17.

had already received remission in the shape of an Indulgence. Luther, revolting at this evasion, flatly refused them the absolution for which they applied. As he persisted in this negative determination, the persons in question, considering themselves aggrieved, entered a serious complaint against him with Tetzel, who was at that time in the neighbourhood of the town of Interbock. Tetzel, confident of support from his superiors, assumed all the consequence of a plenipotentiary of the court of Rome. In an evil hour for the papacy, he became violently incensed against Luther, and being one of the holy commission charged with the extirpation of heresy, he threatened to subject Luther, and those who might adhere to him, to the horrors of the Inquisition. To keep the populace in awe and prevent Luther's opposition from being imitated, he caused a pile for burning heretics to be erected in a conspicuous situation. But all these threats were unavailing, and Luther, once roused, persevered in his course with his characteristic intrepidity.

This is the place to refute an invidious imputation brought against Luther by several Catholic writers, in respect to the purity of his motives in opposing the sale of Indulgences. His resistance, they pretend, took its rise from the vindictive jealousy of the Augustine friars, on being superseded by the Dominicans in the exercise of this lucrative traffic. A bare reference to Luther's history, and to his constant contempt for money, is sufficient to shake the credibility of the charge. During his life-time no such insinuation was ever made, notwithstanding his numerous controversies, and the calumnious exaggerations of his enemies. But the foundation of

the whole is hollow, for the Augustinians appear never to have been entrusted with the sale of Indulgences in Germany. Pallavicini, and other zealous advocates of the Vatican, however hostile to Luther in other respects, have the candour to relinquish this point. In the beginning, Luther, so far from being actuated by irritation at the court of Rome, proceeded on the belief that the pope would approve and support his opposition to Indulgences. His opinion of Leo's character was at that time very high, and had been lately raised by hearing of some censure expressed by the holy father on the indecent forwardness of the preachers of Indulgences.*

The manner in which Luther proceeded affords a convincing proof that he acted with no deliberate hostility to the church. Conformably to the custom of the age, in the case of doubtful points, he came to the determination of stating his ideas in a series of propositions, with a view to a public disputation. Accordingly, on the 31st Oct. 1517, he published ninety-five propositions, discussing copiously the doctrines of penitence, charity, indulgences, purgatory, &c. Having affixed these propositions to the church adjacent to the castle of Wittemberg, an invitation to a public disputation on them was subjoined, accompanied with a request, that those who were necessarily absent would transmit him their observations in writing. The words of this intimation deserve to be recorded, and were as follows:

Amore et studio elucidandæ veritatis hæc subscripta themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, presidente R. P. Martino Luthero, Eremitano Augus-

* Luther. præf. Seckend. p. 16.

*tiniano, artium et S. Theologiæ Magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario Lectore. Quare petit, ut qui non possunt verbis præsentes nobiscum disputare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.**

The practice of holding public disputations had long been common in Europe. Before the invention of printing, these discussions presented almost the only mode by which a scholar could extend his reputation or attract attention to his discoveries. The school-logic was the armour in which these intellectual combatants were in the habit of encountering each other. To appoint a disputation did not necessarily imply the circulation of opinions completely formed, but was rather to be considered a notice of a certain progress in inquiry made on the part of an individual, who was desirous of farther information.

Luther's "propositions," or "theses," as they were termed, consisted in a chain of affirmations and deductions intimately related to each other. Though apparently nothing more than a series of abstract reasonings, it was easy to foresee that, if permitted to extend, they would have a direct and serious effect on certain branches of church revenue. His views of the nature of repentance differed materially from those on which the sale of Indulgences was conducted. The current doctrine in regard to "confession and compensation" proceeded on the supposition that all previous guilt was cancelled by the performance of these acts. Indulgences were of still greater efficacy, and were represented as containing the pardon of sins not yet committed.

* Luther. i. 51.

Luther subjected these extravagant tenets to an analysis on the principles of the general doctrine of repentance. From the tenor of Christ's command to repent, we ought not, he maintained, to contemplate the discharge of a solitary act of contrition, but the habitual and daily exercise of penitence. Penitence administered under the name of a sacrament by a priest could, in his opinion, have no existence; the true repentance enjoined by Christ consisting in internal compunction, accompanied by external acts of mortification. As Indulgences were founded on the assumption that the pope could forgive sin, Luther proceeded to scrutinize and define this part also of the Catholic creed. The Holy Father, he said, was neither able nor willing to remit any punishment except that which is prescribed by the canons; or such as he himself might have imposed by virtue of his personal authority. Strictly speaking, the pope, he added, could in himself be the author of no remission, but merely the declarer of what was granted by God. We see here by what gradual steps Luther began to limit his impressions of the extent of the papal prerogative. So little was he, as yet, disposed to question the authority of the church, that he declared the offender, in a case of forgiveness thus communicated, bound to profess his submission to a priest, and to consider him, in that instance, as God's vicar.

Luther assumed a more decided tone in reprobrating the notion of benefiting by Indulgences the souls of the dead. By a course of reasoning, which in that day was not accounted superfluous, he maintained that the prescriptions in the canon law relative to penitence were applicable only to the living;

that penance was originally imposed not after absolution but before it, and was chiefly intended as a test of the sincerity of the offender's contrition. "The Holy Spirit in the pope," he said, "always excepts in his decrees the articles of death or necessity. The punishment endured in purgatory is intended, like all other punishment, for the most salutary purposes, and before any one can be relieved from it, his soul must increase in charity. His Holiness can affect the souls in purgatory, not by power but by intercession, and therefore does well to publish forgiveness to souls by way of *suffrage* only.* The indiscriminate pardon of sins held out by the Indulgences can, if granted at all, be granted to those only who approach very near to perfection. To hold forth to the multitude the promise of a general pardon must be productive of the worst consequences. How indecent is it in those who are employed to sell Indulgences to affirm to the ignorant populace, that the soul, for whom they purchase a pardon, escapes from purgatory as soon as their money tinkles in the chest! Let not the public be induced to prefer the purchase of Indulgences to acts of charity; for the relief of the poor is among the first of Christian duties. If the Holy Father," he added, "knew the exactions of those mercenary preachers, he would rather that the palace of St. Peter's should be burned to ashes, than built with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep."

Such is the outline of these propositions, the publication of which constituted in a manner the first act of the Reformation. They contained evident in-

* See Appendix S.

dications of a vigorous understanding, mixed, however, with a strong bias to early impressions. While they show that Luther had closely studied Augustine's doctrine of repentance, they prove likewise that he had turned the subject attentively in his own mind. Unaided by any other direction, he had attained, what was very rare in that age, a correct conception of the necessity of sincere penitence to the enjoyment of mental comfort. But in doing justice to him in this respect, as well as to his knowledge of the Scriptures and church history, we cannot help being struck with the extent of his faith in the doctrine of purgatory and in the power of the pope. His whole career, however, is an example of the slow steps by which the mind, when left to its own resources, is destined to arrive at a knowledge of truth.

No disputants having accepted his invitation, Luther determined to print and publish his "Propositions." The novelty and boldness of the opinions which they contained, along with the rational foundation of his reasoning, procured them a very rapid circulation throughout Germany. Known hitherto only in a limited circle as a professor, the circulation of his "Propositions" made him one of the most public men in the empire. The respect which he showed to the authority of the Fathers recommended his work to the reflecting and moderate, while the discrimination evinced in his definitions of the power of the pope was calculated to stagger, in some degree, the belief of those who had hitherto bowed to it as infallible. In regard to that point there was indeed considerable difference of opinion, but there was hardly room for any other feeling than admira-

tion as to another—I mean the necessity of inward contrition and the indecency of selling a general pardon through the medium of an Indulgence.

At the time of giving a challenge to a public disputation, Luther addressed a letter to Albert, archbishop of Mentz, who has been already mentioned as deriving considerable profits from the sale of Indulgences. This letter is remarkable as a specimen of his zeal for his tenets, and of his freedom in addressing his superiors. After repeating the substance of the "Propositions," he proceeds to tell the prelate,

"I do not complain so much of the manner in which the 'Indulgences' are published, (which I have not witnessed,) as of the injurious effects which they are calculated to produce upon the multitude, who believe that, if they purchase these pardons, they are certain of their salvation, and exempted from punishment. Good God!" (he exclaims,) "the souls intrusted to your care are stimulated to what will lead them to ruin; and how hard must be the account which you will have to render to God with respect to all these. From this cause I could be silent no longer, for no one can be certain of his salvation by any gift conferred upon him by a bishop. It is by the grace of God alone that salvation can be obtained. Works of piety and charity are infinitely better than Indulgences; and yet they are not preached to the people with so great pomp or zeal, nay they are supplanted by the Indulgences. The first and only duty of bishops is to instruct the people in the Gospel, and the love of Christ: Jesus never commanded Indulgences to be published. What horror therefore must that bishop experience,

and how great his danger, if he allow the sale of Indulgences to be substituted among his flock in preference to the doctrines of Revelation? Shall not Christ say to such persons, 'Ye strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel?' What can I do, most excellent prelate and illustrious prince, but intreat you by the Lord Jesus Christ, to direct your attention to this subject, to destroy the book which you have sanctioned by your *arms*,* and impose upon the preachers of Indulgences a very different method of recommending them, lest some one should arise and confute both them and that book to the great reproach of your Highness? The consequences of this I dread extremely, and yet I fear it must happen unless a speedy remedy be applied."

It is apparent from this letter that Luther was not apprehensive of that insincerity in the character of the archbishop, which in the sequel he found cause to suspect. Still less was he aware that it would rest with himself to fight the battle with the rapacious exactions of the church. Meantime the boldness of his language began to draw the attention of all Germany. His friends of the Augustinian fraternity, particularly the prior and sub-prior of the monastery of Wittemberg, more alive to danger than himself, and less confident of a successful issue, beseeched him to consult the safety of the Order, and to cease exposing himself to personal hazard. But Luther was not to be stopped, and would give no other reply than "that if the cause were not of God it would fall, but if it were of God, its progress could not be resisted."

* This was a book recommending the purchase of Indulgences, on the title-page of which were the archbishop's arms.

Tetzel, whose passion far surpassed his prudence, published soon after, at Frankfort in Brandenburg, two theses in opposition to those of Luther. His ignorance evidently disqualifying him for such compositions, they have been generally ascribed to Conrad Wimpina, professor of divinity in Frankfort. Their style is such as sufficiently to discover the weakness of the Romish cause, and the dictatorial tone of the Dominican fraternity. The first thesis consisted of one hundred and six positions; the second of fifty.* To mortify Luther and to make a show of respect for Tetzel, no fewer than three hundred monks were present at the disputation on the former of these theses.† Neither of these productions entered into a thorough discussion of Luther's arguments, but assuming *a priori* the pope's infallibility, asserted, as a necessary consequence, that every thing at variance with this fundamental position must be false. This course of reasoning we shall find frequently pursued by Luther's opponents. The Catholics thought it unanswerable, and were not for some time aware that the day was past for proving the pope's infallibility by the weapons of syllogism.

Tetzel, proceeding in his intemperate course, took occasion to throw Luther's work publickly into the fire, an indignity which the students of the university at Wittemberg were not long in retorting on the publication which bore his name. The latter of these transactions excited much surprise: an account

* They are to be seen in Luther, i. 94—98. Extracts are in Seckend. p. 26, 27. See also Sleid. L. i. Sarp. L. i.

† Scult. An. 1517.

of it is given by Luther in the following letter, addressed to his friends, John Langus and Iodocus :—

"That you may be informed of what actually happened respecting the burning of Tetzel's propositions, the following is the true state of the case. The students are exceedingly disgusted with the ancient sophistical mode of study, but very much attached to the study of the Holy Bible, and perhaps also very friendly to me and my cause. When they were informed that a person had come from Halle, sent by Tetzel, the author of the positions, they immediately went to him, and threatened the man for daring to bring such things to Wittemberg. Some bought copies from him, others took them by force, and having given notice of a meeting, invited every one that chose to be present at the burning and funeral of Tetzel's positions, to come to the market place at two o'clock. They there burned all the other copies, to the number of nearly eight hundred. They did this without the knowledge of the elector, senate, or rector of the university, or indeed of any of us. Such a grievous injury done to the man by our students certainly vexed me as well as every body else. Though I am nowise to blame, the abuse, I am afraid, will be imputed to me. It has made a great noise every where, greater perhaps than was necessary; yet it must be confessed they have some reason for being angry. What will happen I know not, unless that my situation, already critical, may become more so in consequence of it."

In another letter Luther says, "I am astonished that you could believe me the author of the burning of Tetzel's positions. Do you think me so totally

destitute of common sense, that I, a member of the church, should, in a place not my own, attempt to do so great an injury to one who holds so high an office as Tetzel."*—Luther's enemies were, as he had foreseen, exceedingly disposed to throw the blame on him, but, however gratified he may have been by this testimony of the attachment of the students, there is no room to suspect him of being instrumental in this indignity to the pope's agent. In a subsequent declaration from Tetzel, the orthodoxy of his creed was maintained against all opponents without mentioning by name an individual so obscure as Luther.† Tetzel made an appeal to the prejudices of the age, by declaring his readiness to undergo the ordeal of fire and water in justification of his tenets: and Luther, equally convinced of the orthodoxy of his new opinions, was not slow in volunteering a submission to the same test.‡

Luther's compositions advanced this year with a promptitude which gave an ample assurance of his future activity. They consisted, in the first place, of his "Propositions" printed 31st October, and of a sermon in German, on the subject of Indulgences. To these was added a more elaborate work, a "Defence of his Propositions," which he prepared before the expiration of the year, but was prevented from publishing for the present by the solicitations of his friends, particularly his diocesan, the bishop of Brandenburg. Enough, however, was sent forth to awaken the minds of men, and to excite that disposition to doubt and scrutinize, which generally precedes a revolution of opinion.

* Melch. Ad. Seckend. p. 25. † Seckend. p. 26.

‡ Luth. i. 133.

CHAPTER IV.

YEAR 1518.

RESOLUTE as was Luther's character, a considerable time elapsed before he came to an open rupture with the court of Rome. The year 1518 is remarkable by furnishing proofs of the gradual nature of his change in opinion, and of an anxiety that his warmth of language should not be construed into direct and unqualified assertion. The circulation of his "Propositions" had far exceeded his calculation, and many persons were disposed to assume their contents rather as declared opinions than as materials submitted for examination. These mistakes and the extraordinary ferment produced throughout Germany, led him, as we shall see by and by, to make to the abettors of Indulgences an offer of a mutual cessation of controversy. A few concessions would at this time have satisfied him; but, to use his own words, "the poor monk was despised." The offer being mistaken by his antagonists for an avowal of weakness, he was obliged in self-defence to continue his polemical labours. Hence those farther investigations and discoveries which led him to attack corruption at its fountain head. But long before this decisive result, he composed various papers, which show a solicitude to prevent the public from carrying his notions too far, as well as to make the church instrumental in

accomplishing her own reform. The first of these, which we shall notice, was addressed to the bishop of Brandenburg already mentioned, whose name was Jerome Scultetus. Luther, treating him with the respect due to an official superior, had transmitted him last year a notice of the substance of his intended publication in defence of his propositions. It is in this sense that we are led to understand an expression in Luther's first letter to the pope, "*Monui privatim aliquot magnates ecclesiarum.*" The prelate, startled at the boldness of the arguments, exerted himself to effect a delay in their publication; and, with this view, paid Luther the compliment of sending to him an abbot of distinction. The condescension was pleasing to Luther, and induced him to postpone his publication. But his mind was too strongly engrossed by the interest of his subject to allow him to relinquish it, and we find him accordingly addressing, June 2, 1518, a letter to the bishop, which, under the appearance of an explanation of the controversy, may be regarded as a kind of apology for deviating from his cautious counsels.

"There lately appeared," he says, "in our neighbourhood, new and unheard of opinions respecting the nature of Indulgences. The learned as well as the unlearned were astonished at them. Not only my intimate friends, but many who were unknown to me, requested by letters, and, on occasion of personal intercourse, applied verbally for my opinion in regard to the new doctrines which had been published. For some time I avoided any open declaration, but at last the dispute became so

violent, that I was induced to go so far as even to incur the danger of offending the pope.

"But what could I do? it was not in my power to determine any thing upon the subject, and I was afraid to contradict those whom I wished to respect. They however argued so plausibly in attempting to prove what is false and vain, that, to confess the truth, they arrested my attention, and fairly involved me in the controversy. That I might please both parties, I judged it most expedient, neither to assent to nor dissent from either, but in the mean time to reason upon the subject, until the church should determine what our opinions ought to be. I therefore published a disputation, and invited all persons publickly, to declare their sentiments. As I knew several very learned men, I requested them in private to open their minds to me. I perceived that neither the doctors of the church, nor the canonists, generally, supported my opinions. There were only a few canonists and scholastic doctors who seemed to approve, and even they were not very hearty in their concurrence."

After exposing the ridiculous conduct of those who belong to the church, and are yet unable to contend with heretics, he thus proceeds:

"When I gave a general challenge to dispute with me upon the subject of Indulgences, no one appeared. I then perceived that my published disputations were more widely dispersed than I had wished, and were every where received, not as matter of discussion, but as positive affirmation. I was therefore compelled, contrary to my hope and wish, to publish the arguments for the propositions, and thus expose my ignorance. I thought it better to

incur the shame of being deficient in knowledge than to allow those to remain in error who took for granted that my propositions were asserted as undoubted truths. Of the accuracy of some of them I myself was doubtful, and of several I am ignorant. Some persons deny them; but I assert none pertinaciously. I submit them all to the holy church and the pope."

After complimenting the bishop on that humanity and humility in the discharge of his high office, which made him almost as much venerated as the pope, he adds:

"It is most just that I should lay first at your feet what I have been employed in. I therefore entreat you to receive my trifles, that all may know that I assert nothing confidently. I not only give you leave but beseech you to blot out whatever you think fit; nay, I shall not be concerned if you should burn the whole. I declare once more, that I affirm nothing confidently; on the contrary I even argue with fear. Not that I stand in dread of the bulls and threats of those, who, not knowing what it is to doubt, wish to circulate whatever they dream, as gospel; I confess that their audacity, joined to their ignorance, induced me not to give way to my own fears. Had not the cause been of so great importance, no one should have known me beyond my own corner. If the work be not of God, I do not pretend that it should be mine; let it come to nothing, and be claimed by no one. I ought to seek nothing else, than that I should not be the occasion of error to any one."

The respect which Luther had shown to his diocesan, he determined not to withhold from the

superior of his Order. To Staupitz, his provincial and benefactor,* he enclosed a printed copy of the defence of his propositions, requesting him to transmit them to the pope, that the malicious insinuations of his enemies might be counteracted.

"I request," he says, "that you will send these trifles of mine to that most excellent pontiff, Leo X. that they may serve to plead my cause at Rome. Not that I wish you to be joined with me in the danger; for it is my desire that these things be done at my own hazard. I expect that Christ, as judge, will pronounce what is right by the mouth of the pope. To those of my friends who would alarm me for the consequences, I have nothing else to say than what Reuchlin said; 'He who is poor, has nothing to fear; he can lose nothing.' I possess no property, neither do I desire any.—There remains to me only a frail body, harassed by continual illness, and if they take away my life by open violence, or stratagem, they make me but little poorer. I am satisfied with the possession of my Redeemer and Propitiator, the Lord Jesus Christ, whom I shall praise as long as I exist. If any one be unwilling to join with me in these praises, what is that to me? Let him raise his voice after his own fashion. The Lord Jesus will save me for ever."†

This letter may be regarded as a faithful picture of the predominating feelings in Luther's breast. His anxiety to save his friends from the danger connected with his cause, his indifference to money,

* See Appendix T.

† Luth. i. 100. Extracts are made from this letter by Melch. Ad. and Seckend. p. 33.

the calmness with which he contemplated death, are the infallible indications of a pure and conscientious character. Can we require a more conclusive proof, that neither selfish attachment to his Order, nor enmity to the Dominicans, had any share in stimulating his opposition to Indulgences? On the day of writing to Staupitz he addressed also a letter to the pope, the tone of which is nearly the same as that of the epistles which we have quoted. The principal addition consists in his urging a claim to the privilege of engaging in public disputations, on the ground of being a Doctor in Divinity. His enemies had loaded him with reproaches, and charged him with depravity of morals; but "were such the case, is it probable," he asks, "that so illustrious a prince as Frederick of Saxony would have taken me under his protection, or allowed me to remain a Professor in his university?" His letter concludes thus:—"I prostrate myself at the feet of your Holiness, with all that I am and have. Give the command of life or death, call or recall, approve or disapprove, as you may judge fit: I acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ, presiding and speaking in you. If I have deserved death, I will not refuse to die. The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."*

From this, as well as from subsequent letters, it is apparent that Luther was little acquainted with Leo's real character. On another occasion, much about this time, we find him extolling Leo as the best of pontiffs, and affording, by his reputation for integrity and learning, matter of exultation to all

* Luth. i. 101. Seckend. p. 33.

good men. "But what," he adds, "can this most delightful person do alone in so great confusion? One who is worthy to have been pontiff in better times, or in whose pontificate the times ought to have become better. In our age, we deserve only such popes as Julius II. and Alexander VI. or some atrocious monsters similar to what the poets have created; for even in Rome herself, nay in Rome more than any where else, good popes are held in ridicule." *

This language, however different from that which Luther subsequently held with respect to Leo, was, we have no reason to doubt, perfectly sincere. Leo was at that time the object of admiration throughout Europe, and Luther could hardly fail to participate in the general predilection.

Whilst Luther was thus intent on explaining his opinions and motives to his superiors, he learned that his Augustinian brethren dissented from some points in his new doctrine. He determined accordingly to embrace the first favourable opportunity of openly discussing the controverted topics. This was afforded at the annual assembly of the Order, held soon after midsummer at Heidelberg. Luther previously published twenty-eight theses on divinity, which he proposed to defend; and subjoined twelve corollaries from them, calculated to show the power of his arguments in opposition to the Greek philosophy, particularly in regard to the doctrines of Aristotle, Plato, Parmenides, Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras. The journey from Wittemberg to Heidelberg he performed, long as it

* Seckend. p. 33.

was, on foot, a mode of travelling which corresponded with his ideas of Christian humility. He was received most kindly on his journey by Laurentius a Bibra, bishop of Wurtzburg, who was decidedly hostile to the new plan of retailing Indulgences, but unfortunately lived too short a time to evince his friendship for Luther.*

Luther carried with him a letter of recommendation from the elector Frederick to the prince Palatine, a precautionary safeguard which the boldness and obnoxious tendency of his writings rendered advisable. It deserves to be noticed, that the elector's recommendation was confined to a private letter, that Prince being too cautious to declare himself, in the face of the church, the patron of Luther. From the same motive, Luther had not yet been admitted to any personal communication with the elector, the arrangements in his behalf having been conducted by his friend Spalatin.

The theses debated at Heidelberg were of a much more comprehensive character than those previously published on the subject of Indulgences. The first twelve of the twenty-eight relate to the nature of good works; the succeeding four to free-will. In those that follow, Luther deduces certain consequences from his previous reasoning, and enters on a discussion of the nature of good and evil, the operation of the law, and the tendency of what he terms false wisdom. Crude and undefined as his ideas are, they possess a claim on our attention on account of their subsequent operation,

* Seckend. p. 29, says of him, "Ex familia equestri Franconiæ *splendidissima* et *vetustissima*," and adds significantly, "non uno adfinitatis nexu *mihi* juncta."

the early impressions of Luther being in many cases discernible in the future history of the Reformed Church.

The respondent in this public debate was M. Laurentius Beyerus, a monk of his own Order. Though two combatants only were named, many others entered the lists, and the disputation was attended, as well by the professors and students of Heidelberg, as by many of the inhabitants of the city. Among the doctors present, the most eminent was Martin Bucer, who, though he had only passed the rank of "scholar," was already possessed of sufficient sagacity to discover the errors of popery. Bucer eagerly listened to the controversy, took notes of what was spoken, and applied for explanations to Luther, who was much gratified with his keenness for inquiry. Bucer, having arranged his notes, and corrected them by the explanations which he received from Luther, published an account of the debate, and while he commends highly the moderation of both parties, passes a particular encomium on Luther's earnestness and diligence.* Luther's own account of it is as follows:

"The doctors willingly admitted my disputation, and debated with such modesty as to entitle them greatly to my esteem. Theology indeed seemed foreign to them; nevertheless they skirmished both acutely and pleasantly, excepting the fifth and

* Bucer afterwards became distinguished among the Reformers. For an account of him see Melch. Ad. Vit. Buceri, et Scripta Anglicana fere omnia Buceri, published at Basil in 1577. Dr. Bates has inserted the account of his death in his Vit. Select. Vir. p. 250, &c. London, 1681.

junior doctor, who made the whole meeting laugh by exclaiming, "Were the common people to hear these things, they would stone you to death."

On an assembly thus open to conviction, Luther could not fail to make a powerful impression, and he seems to have gained a fresh accession of courage from the result of this debate; for on his return home we find him writing to his former master, Iodocus Issenacensis, and apprizing him that "all the Wittemberg doctors, nay the whole university, with the exception of one licentiate, (Sebastian,) were now of his way of thinking;" adding, "that many ecclesiastics and respectable citizens now unanimously say, that they had neither known nor heard Christ and the Gospel before."

The defence of Luther's disputation propositions was published under the title of "*Resolutiones*," or "Solutions," and was addressed to the pope. His reasons for giving them to the world were, "that he might conciliate his adversaries, yield compliance with a variety of solicitations, and undeceive those who thought him absolute and dogmatical in his mode of assertion." In conformity with the custom of the age, he inserted a solemn protestation of his sincerity as a disputant. *Disputo ergo hic, et quæro veritatem, testis lector, testis auditor, testis vel ipse hæreticæ pravitatis inquisitor.** Nor was he behind-hand with his opponents in asserting in a determined tone, the truth of his tenets, and the heresy of whoever should differ from him. *Ea quæ jam dixi, protestor me non dubitare, sed paratus sum ignem et mortem sus-*

* Luther. i. p. 132. This was Tetzel's title as connected with the Inquisition.

*cipere pro illis, et hæreticum asseram omnem qui contra sapuerit.**

The composition of these "resolutions" discovers no ordinary degree of acuteness, and fully warrants Luther's high reputation as a disputant. It is remarkable that though his early predilection for Aristotle had been by this time exchanged for a very different feeling, the "resolutions" are completely in the style and manner of a dialectician. His arguments may be traced to four distinct sources: the Scriptures, in the knowledge of which he far surpassed his opponents; the Fathers, with whose writings his acquaintance was at least equal to theirs; the canon law; and lastly the authority of Gerson and other celebrated doctors of the church. Though his chief stress was laid on Scripture and the Fathers, he had not yet come to the length of disregarding the authority of clerical law, or the arguments of the leaders of the schools.

It was about the middle of this year that the respected name of Melancthon was added to the Wittemberg university, in the capacity of Greek professor. This nomination is ascribed by Luther to a wish, on the part of the elector, to give him an associate in theological labours. It appears, however, to have been more directly the consequence of an application from the elector to the celebrated Reuchlin, the restorer of Oriental literature in Germany. Reuchlin likewise recommended Ocalampadius, as Hebrew professor; but that eminent scholar was already engaged to accept

* Luth. i. 133.

an appointment of that nature at the university of Bazil.

Meantime the disputations and writings of Luther had abridged considerably the revenue arising from the sale of Indulgences in the North of Germany. The better part of the Catholic priesthood became ashamed of the traffic, while those who were less scrupulous, durst not venture to urge the multitude to purchase. But in so very numerous a body, it was not to be expected that antagonists to Luther would long be wanting. The first who took the field against him was John Eckius, a Dominican, and professor of divinity at Ingoldstad. To a book which he published against Luther, he gave the whimsical title of "Obelisci," in reference to the marks (†††) used in printing to indicate notes; and from a wish that the public should consider his performance as merely a series of annotations. Luther and he had formerly been on terms of friendship, a circumstance which made the Reformer complain of the illiberality of sending him no previous notice of the intended work. Eckius, uneasy at the charge, affirmed that the book had been sent to press without his knowledge. His remarks, he said, were originally communicated to his bishop in a private pacquet, and had they been meant for publication, would have been composed with more pains. Well might he exert himself to apologise for the deficiency of his book, for a poorer performance can hardly be imagined. It was wholly unworthy of the future fame of the author, and afforded a striking example of the weakness of the scholastic philosophy in the re-

search of truth, or refutation of error. The infallibility of the pope, the testimony of learned doctors, and a string of logical common places, constituted the basis of Eckius' superstructure.

An attack of this nature could only serve to add fuel to Luther's ardour. He speedily published an answer under the correspondent title of Asterisci (**). But in this as in many other controversies, the disputants had failed in fixing their first principles. "*Fateor hæc omnia esse vera,*" says Luther, "*si scholastica sunt vera. Quod Eckius asserit, ego nego; et sic est petitio principii.*" * The tone of Luther's answer is, we must confess, exceedingly high, and partakes sometimes of a scurrility which can be extenuated only by a consideration of his constitutional warmth, and of the manners of the age. "Were I assured," he says, "that Eckius was an angel seated in the midst of the seraphim, I should still declare him an impious enemy of charity, and a deceiver of the credulous, so long as he shall teach that barren Indulgences are good for the people, and that the preference of charitable actions to the purchase of Indulgences savours of the Bohemian schism." After expressing himself very properly respecting those who flattered the pope, he proceeds to place the controversy on a just foundation. "I request," he says, "those opponents, who are willing to do me a service, not to attempt to terrify me by flattering the pope, nor by quoting writers on scholastic theology, but to instruct me by substantial arguments from Scripture and the Fathers."—Lu-

* Luth. i. 154.

ther's answer appeared to the public in the light of a victory, and is said to have brought him a considerable number of converts.

His next antagonist was a person of greater rank. Sylvester de Prierio, a Dominican like Eckius, and master of the pope's palace at Rome, entered the lists, in the persuasion that the refutation of Luther's heresy was one of the easiest things imaginable. In his dedication to Leo, Prierio takes occasion to say that he did not know who this Martin Luther was; that the answer he had composed was the labour of three days only; that he was certain of victory; and would not fail, as soon as he saw Luther's other works, to write something more worthy of attention than this dialogue. Nothing in fact can be more insignificant than this production of Prierio. Though called a dialogue, it contains nothing but Luther's theses and short *scholia* by Prierio, consisting of a string of successive allegations on the authority of St. Thomas, the universality of the church, and that never-ending theme, the pope's infallibility. He had no more scruple than Tetzel in recommending Indulgences, by asserting that the soul flew to heaven as soon as the "money tinkled in the chest." He alludes to the power of the Inquisition, and advises Luther to beware lest vengeance, in some shape or another, overtake him. Were the pope, he adds, to present Luther with a good bishopric and a plenary indulgence to repair his church, he would soon abound in more courteous language.

Luther, determined not to be behindhand with Prierio, wrote a rejoinder in *two* days, retorting his personalities with no sparing hand, and declaring

his arguments so futile, that he could disprove them by writing whatever came uppermost. "You are sunk," he said, "in the darkness of Thomas Aquinas, and must come better armed to the next combat if you hope to escape without disgrace." Nothing, however, could abash the confidence of Prierio; he replied in the form of a letter addressed to Luther, repeating what he had previously advanced, defending Thomas Aquinas with great zeal, boasting of his high office at Rome, and taking no slight degree of credit for the honour paid, as he believed, to his works at Leipsic. He called this second essay "Epithoma," in honour of the angelical doctor, and he concluded by appealing, with great self-complacency, to the decision of the public. Prierio's pertinacity made Luther lose all patience. He wrote an answer in which, not contented with speaking of Prierio in a manner sufficiently contemptuous, he treated his book in terms which, to be tolerated, require rather more than the extenuating medium of a dead language. "*Tot tantisque blasphemiis a capite ad pedes usque refertum, ut in medio Tartaro ab ipsomet Satana editum libellum existimem.*" The Dominicans, it appears, felt ashamed of Prierio's defence, for in a letter written to Langus about the middle of September, Luther says, "the Dominicans are buying up the copies of Sylvester's dialogue, and are suppressing it, but we are re-printing it at Wittemberg."

The extravagant tone in which Prierio extolled the pope's power and his superiority to a general

* Luth. i. 189.

Council, however agreeable to Leo or his minions, was kept up with too little disguise. It had been the policy of the court of Rome to account such superiority its prerogative, but to forbear bringing forward the invidious assertion. The imprudent length of Prierio's assumption led Luther to reflect on the extraordinary consequences of which acquiescence would be productive. And here we meet with the first symptom of that alienation from the church which afterwards became so conspicuous in Luther. "Were such," he says, "the sentiments entertained at Rome, happy are they who have separated from the church and gone out from the midst of that Babylon! Cursed are they who hold communion with her! If the pope and cardinals do not check this mouth of Satan and compel him to recant, I solemnly declare before them, that I dissent from the Roman church and renounce her with the pope and cardinals as the abomination of the holy place."

On reading these bold expressions, we can hardly resist the inference that Luther was actuated by a confidence of support and protection. The concurrence of his brethren at Wittemberg, the popularity of his preaching, the success of his public disputations, and the steady though cautious assistance of the elector, were all calculated to inspire him in some measure with courage. But the length to which he went must have been much more the result of his constitutional temper than of a calculation of strength. Accordingly, it was not without much doubt and disquietude that he ventured to maintain his early struggle with the church. Looking back at a future period to these days of

anxiety, he exclaims, "How many things my heart suffered during the course of that first and second year, and how great at that time was my unfeigned humility—I might almost say, despair. Ah! how little is this known to those who followed me; and who were enabled to attack with impunity the wounded majesty of the pontiff." *

Among his other early antagonists was James Hoogstraat, an inquisitor of Louvain, who, without bestowing time on the reasoning in Luther's doctrine, advised Leo to cut him off at once by fire and sword.† Hoogstraat had been the persecutor of the famous Reuchlin, to whom Luther compares himself in many passages of his works. The Reformer's reply to Hoogstraat was marked by no tame characteristics. He exposed his ignorance of that scholastic philosophy of which he pretended so much knowledge; upbraided him with brutality, and finally recommended to the pope to consult the interests of the church by inflicting punishment on this inquisitor of heretics who was so illiterate as not to know in what heresy consisted.

The writings of Luther and the answers to them having now been some time before the public: the feebleness of the latter excited surprise in many who had never doubted the ability of the church to defend by argument whatever she assumed the right to do. From the increased diffusion of knowledge, and the peculiar political situation of Germany at that time, the Catholics felt themselves unable to stop the progress of heresy in the sum-

* Luth. i. 50. Seckend. p. 38.

† Sleid. L. i. Melch. ad Sarp. L. i. Seckend. p. 38.

mary method of earlier days. It is to this cause chiefly that we are to ascribe what has been called the inactivity, in the first instance, of the court of Rome towards Luther. It will be in vain to seek to account for it by a tolerating disposition on the part of Leo. Liberal as he was, in the patronage of literature and the arts, the men who in his court cultivated the works of Greece and Rome durst not indulge in those effusions of independence which mark the celebrated writers of antiquity. On the contrary, the habit of flattering and of showing an unqualified approbation of his measures will be found the characteristics of those who surrounded him. It is true that for some time Leo paid very little attention to Luther's opposition. Considering it below his dignity to discuss the merits of a dispute carried on in an obscure part of Germany, he was disposed to let it be finished by those with whom it had begun. In process of time this controversy, he thought, would, like many others, fall into oblivion. Voluptuous and averse from business, he was accustomed to devolve the laborious part of his office on Julius, afterwards Clement VII. and had consequently not the means of forming a due estimate of the danger to be apprehended from Luther.*

Maximilian, the emperor of Germany, though ostensibly attached to the pope, had no disposition to persecute Luther. He was remarkable for mildness of temper, and having had the curiosity to read Luther's theses, he is reported to have said to Pfeff'nger, one of Frederick's ministers, "Your

* See Appendix, U.

monk's theses are not to be despised. He will give the priests some trouble. Tell Frederick that he should protect Luther, as it may happen that he will have need of him." *

The want of cordiality in Maximilian towards Leo arose from his having discovered that the pontiff, while pretending friendship for him, was engaged in secret intrigues with the king of France. "Had not Leo also deceived me," said Maximilian on this occasion, † "he would have been the only pope whom I could have called an honest man." ‡ But, had the court of Rome even been assured of the zealous co-operation of Maximilian against Luther, their point would not have been gained; for the influence and reputation of Frederick was such as to form a counterpoise in the Diet to imperial authority itself. Of this, ample evidence had been given by two questions which Frederick had lately been instrumental in carrying. 1st. That the pope should not, under pretext of a Turkish war, exhaust Germany by means of Indulgences; 2dly. That no king of the Romans should be elected during the life of Maximilian. Unwelcome as the latter measure was to the emperor's feelings, Frederick still remained on good terms with him, partly by uncommon discretion of behaviour, and more perhaps from the emperor's conviction that the preservation of Frederick's good will was the most likely method to secure the transmission of the imperial title to his grandson Charles.

While the influence of Leo with the emperor

* Seckend. p. 42. † Ibid. p. 43.

‡ Nisi me hic quoque papa fefellisset, ille unicus esset cujus bonam fidem laudare possem. Ibid. p. 43.

was thus limited, it was, for obvious reasons, still less powerful with Frederick. It had long been an object with the secular princes of Germany to lessen the pecuniary exactions of the church of Rome among their subjects. But the blind reverence of the people to the church rendered such opposition a matter of great delicacy and difficulty; and the above mentioned resolution of the Diet was one of the few examples in which it had been attempted with success. A controversy which, like Luther's, tended to lessen the bigoted adherence of the people to the pope, had, in secret, the good wishes of Frederick and of most of the neighbouring princes. This reason, however, from not being avowed, has been less generally regarded as a motive for Frederick's protection than the importance of Luther to the university of Wittemberg—not that the last was of inconsiderable operation, for Luther's energy, as a preacher and professor, had excited a strong interest in his behalf, on the part both of the students and of the people. There were other circumstances, too, which tended to fortify Frederick against the intrigues of the church. The attachment of a scholar, so well known throughout Germany as Melancthon, seemed to bring over the cause of literature to Luther's side. Several persons in Frederick's confidence had become patrons of the new doctrine: and it was not the character of the court of Saxony to forsake a resolution which it had once adopted.*

In this age of civil and military contention, the independence of Europe appeared to be threatened

* See Appendix V.

from the East. Selim I. son of Bajazet II. after subduing the nations in Asia adjacent to the Turkish empire, seemed determined to turn the tide of warfare towards Christendom, and to rival the exploits of Alexander and Cæsar.* The powerful influence of religion was called forth to stimulate the Mussulmen to embark with alacrity in the prosecution of the war. The island of Rhodes and the kingdom of Hungary appeared the two vulnerable points. Leo feared, or affected to fear, for the former, and Maximilian was seriously alarmed for the latter. Leo ordered public prayers to be offered up, and exhorted all Christian princes to suspend their animosities and fly to the succour of religion. He thought proper also to send to Germany, on a special mission, one of his confidential servants, cardinal Thomas de Vio de Gaëte, surnamed Cajetan.† The Catholic writers represent the formation of a league against the Turks as the sole object of Cajetan's mission to the emperor, as well as of his appearance at the Diet of Augsburg, in the capacity of pope's legate. There can, however, be no doubt, that he had orders to accomplish a settlement of Luther's affair, and, if we may depend on the accuracy of the Reformer's conjecture, Cajetan was commissioned also to obtain the *tenths* decreed by the Lateran council.‡ The unexpected death of Selim having put an end to the ostensible plea for the mission, and a grant of

* Guicciard. L. xiii.

† He was one of the thirty-one cardinals created by Leo in one morning in July 1517. Vit. Pontiff. p. 14. 21.

‡ Seckend. p. 42.

the tenths being found impracticable, Cajetan's principal employment proved to relate to Luther.

Cajetan was a man of address, and zealous for the support of the pope's authority; but his temper was impatient, and he was particularly stimulated against Luther by the indignities offered to the Dominican Order of which he was a member. During the discussion of the Turkish war in the Diet, Cajetan had, for the sake of example, gone the length of offering the revenue of the church for the purpose of repelling the infidels. A favourable impression was thus made on the emperor. Other acts were employed to gain over particular members of the Diet. The archbishop of Mentz, who already enjoyed the unprecedented favour of possessing two archbishopricks and to whom the sale of Indulgences had been originally committed, was now promoted to the rank of cardinal. These manœuvres so far succeeded that the emperor, influenced, no doubt, by views of policy, was made to come forward as a declared enemy to the new doctrine. He wrote or rather signed a letter to the pope, in which he censured not only Luther's theses but his public discourses, and particularly specified that in regard to the two articles of Indulgences and excommunication, his opinions were "*heretical and damnable.*" Referring to a very ancient decree of the pope's consistory, by which doctors are prohibited from disputing on any doctrine unless it be pronounced doubtful in the decretals, he declared, in direct terms, the pope's right to interpose his judgment. He next expressed his confidence that whatever decision might be given at Rome would be in conformity to truth. He

beseeched his Holiness, therefore, to put an end to the diffusion of such opinions, because even *men in power* had become patrons and defenders of Luther's errors. He concluded by promising to approve whatever the pope should determine, and to cause it to be observed throughout the empire.

It requires but a slight examination of this letter to trace in its tone and substance the dictation of an ecclesiastic. Maximilian, a total stranger to theological discussions, is here made to handle them with the familiarity and decision of a practised controversialist, and to allude to the elector of Saxony with a want of deference completely at variance with his usual temper and conduct. This remarkable epistle was dated from Augsburg, 5th August.

Leo, stimulated by the Dominicans and others, seemed now to exchange his inactivity towards Luther for promptitude and decision. Before receiving Maximilian's letter, he had summoned Luther to appear within sixty days at Rome. This summons appears to have been presented to Luther on the 7th of August, and could not fail to excite in him considerable alarm. Some intelligence of the machinations going forward at Augsburg had probably been communicated to him, but of their real extent, it is evident he was not aware. There was, however, little room to hesitate about the fate that would await at Rome whoever had been so daring as to oppose the views of the priesthood. Still less could he entertain a doubt of the decision that would take place in his own case, because the two persons whom Leo had constituted his judges, had already declared his theses heretical. These were his antagonists, Sylvester de Prierio and Jerome

Ghinucci, bishop of Ascoli and auditor of the apostolic chamber.* In this situation, Luther determined to have recourse to the elector, through the medium of his cordial friend, Spalatin. Both being then at Augsburg, Luther lost no time in transmitting them the summons, and in proposing that Frederick should use his influence to procure the appointment of a commission to examine into his cause in some part of Germany. In the mean time his friends were a good deal at a loss for an excuse for his not repairing to Rome. This difficulty was solved, it appears, by a suggestion of his own, that it would be a sufficient apology "if the elector were to refuse a safe conduct, or to deny him permission to leave Wittemberg."

The summons to Luther was followed, on the part of the court of Rome, by a dispatch to Cajetan, composed in a style sufficiently calculated to show the length to which the church would have been disposed to carry the punishment of Luther. He and his doctrines are described by very abusive epithets, and the act of publishing his opinions without consulting the church, the mistress of the faith, is termed rash, presumptuous, and licentious. The cardinal is then informed that orders had been given that Luther should first appear before him at Augsburg, where he was to be kept in safe custody until matters should be arranged for presenting him before the apostolic chair at Rome. If Luther should recant his opinions, Cajetan was empowered to receive him into the bosom of the church, but if

* Ghinucci was afterwards nuncio at the court of Henry VIII. who made him bishop of Worcester. Paul III. created him a cardinal. Ciacon. Vit. Pontif. p. 1505.

he continued obstinate, he and all his adherents were to be declared excommunicated and accursed. All civil and ecclesiastical authorities were enjoined, at the hazard of incurring the same penalty, to seize Luther and send him to Cajetan.

This high tone, however, was assumed only in the letter to the pope's agent. A dispatch from the court of Rome to the elector of Saxony, written on the same day, is couched in terms so very different that one could hardly think they issued from the same quarter. Nothing is there said of imposing penalties on Frederick in the event of his refusing to assist in apprehending Luther—the high rank of the house of Saxony, the personal virtues of Frederick, the merits of his ancestors, above all, their zeal for the holy see, formed the leading topics of this polite communication. "Such a prince," added Leo, "was not likely to constitute himself the protector of a heretic, who, in the vain hope of countenance from his sovereign, had let loose the reins of his pride." With that diplomatic art which so early characterised the court of Rome, no notice was taken of the elector's avowed interference in behalf of Luther, but an appearance of disbelieving all such reports was assumed, and a caution given to the elector to avoid any thing calculated to excite suspicions of that nature. Leo concluded by mentioning that he had committed the affair to Cajetan, and by requesting Frederick to lend his aid to deliver up Luther to him.

From the ordinary motives of statesmen as well as from the personal character of Frederick, there is little doubt that his interest in Luther proceeded less from zeal than from policy. His conduct on the

present occasion has a tendency to confirm this opinion. Apprised of the serious intention of the court of Rome and too cautious to declare himself in opposition to her, Frederick steered a middle course. He urged to the pope the propriety of adopting less severe language, and of consenting to refer Luther's examination to a German tribunal. All this, however, was expressed in very moderate terms, and, after conversing with Cajetan, at Augsburg, Frederick, as we shall see presently, became disposed to go a step farther, and consented that Luther should appear before the legate.

In concurrence with the other measures of the court of Rome against Luther, means were now adopted to render him obnoxious to his own Order. Leo condescended to write to Gabriel, a Venetian, grand vicar of the Order, exhorting him to exercise his official prerogative, or, to copy the literal expressions, to "employ all his *mind*, *study*, *labour*, *advice* and *diligence*, in opposing the dissemination of the new doctrines."* "Abuses," he added, "slight in their outset, were apt to become incurable by delay."—Luther, on the other hand, was by no means inactive. Confident in the favourable disposition of his brethren of the university, he applied to them to intercede for him in a body with the pope. To this the rector, masters, and doctors of the university willingly assented, and addressed, on 25th Sept. a letter to Charles Miltitz, a German, and chamberlain of the pope, requesting him to exert his influence with his master to obtain for Luther a trial in Germany, by judges free from suspicion, and in

* Sleid. L. i.

a place where he might be assured of personal safety. After bestowing great praises on Luther's learning and exemplary morals, they inserted an explicit denial of the charge of impiety brought against his doctrine, alleging, that had this been the case, they would have been the first to expel him from their society and surrender him to the power of the law. On the same day they addressed a letter to the pontiff, in which, after apologising for their freedom in writing to so high a quarter, they proceed as follows:

"Brother Martin Luther, a faithful and acceptable member of our university, has entreated us, in a confidence of the success of our intercession, to write to your Holiness, and to afford him a testimonial of the soundness of his doctrine and character, both of which he complains have been unjustly censured. He is now summoned by command of your Holiness to appear in person at Rome, on account of several propositions concerning Indulgences disputed among us; but his bad health, together with the danger of the road, prevents him from undertaking what it is both his duty and inclination to do. On this account we, sympathising with the hardship of his case, have not been disposed to refuse our testimonial, since he believes it will be useful to him." After certifying Luther's orthodoxy and character, they make the admission that, "though he had asserted nothing as certain, yet, taking the liberty allowed in disputations, he had perhaps laid down positions with more freedom than some of his opponents could bear."*—Of this testimonial no notice was taken by the pope.

* Luth. i. 206. Sleid. L. i. Seckend. p. 41.

We return now to Frederick, whom we find acquitting himself with much judgment and knowledge of the world. After finishing the business of the Diet, he obtained from Cajetan an assurance that Luther should not be compelled to proceed to Rome, and engaged, in return, that he should present himself before the legate at Augsburg.* This course of proceeding was calculated, if not to prevent, at least to delay a rupture between the parties. It amounted to a compliance with the pope's mandate as far as regarded sending Luther to Cajetan; while, by the precaution of stipulating for the personal liberty of the reformer, it prevented that compliance from being attended with hazardous consequences. On returning home, Frederick gave Luther letters of recommendation to the senate and to some of the principal inhabitants of the city of Augsburg. Aware of Luther's poverty, the elector furnished him with money for the expedition. With these aids, Luther proceeded on his journey, which was long and tedious. Notwithstanding the provision made for him in the pecuniary way, his attire was so unsuited to a public appearance, that, on arriving at Nuremberg, he found it necessary to borrow a friar's cowl from Linccius, a divine of his own Order, whom he had known from his childhood. On leaving Nuremberg, he continued his progress to the southward, crossed the Danube, and, after a fatiguing peregrination, entered Augsburg. "*Veni pedester et pauper Augustam, stipatus sumptibus principis Frederici.*"†

* Luther. Præf. also Op. i. 208, Sleid. L. i. Seckend. p. 45.

† Luther. Præf.

Such was the humble equipage of the man whose cause now occupied the attention of Germany. "I had attacked," says Luther, "what neither bishop nor divine had in times past dared to touch. The public awaited the issue with minds full of suspense but favourably disposed towards me, because their eyes were at last becoming open to the imposture and oppressive exactions of the church of Rome."

By the elector's advice he had ventured to come without any public safe-conduct, a step which, at a future period, he did not hesitate to consider imprudent. Cajetan was a Dominican and an inquisitor: the papal court, moreover, had enjoined Luther's attendance at Rome, and was accustomed, in the execution of its decrees, to consider that the end justified the means.

Luther arrived at Augsburg on Friday, October 8, and repaired to the Augustinian convent, where he delivered the elector's letter; but he took up his lodging with the Carmelite friars, in consequence either of the advice of his Augustinian friends, or, as is more likely, of his personal acquaintance with the prior of the Carmelites. He was prepared to consider Cajetan in the light only of a controversial disputant, and was ignorant of his being invested with a power to judge, and if he proved incorrigible, to proceed against him. He determined, however, not to appear before Cajetan if he should ascertain that he had been previously condemned by the pope.

Luther's arrival in the city did not long remain unknown. The first person whom he saw, on the part of the legate, was one Urban, surnamed "De longa Serra," an Italian belonging to the legate's mission. Urban, without acknowledging any au-

thority from Cajetan, conversed very freely on the subject of Luther's journey, and seemed desirous of removing all suspicion in regard to his personal safety. He omitted nothing to induce Luther to appear without hesitation before the legate. The Augustinians, however, dissuaded Luther from taking that step without obtaining a letter of protection from the emperor, who was then at Augsburg. Cajetan, whatever was his object, seems to have been very desirous that Luther should appear before him without a safeguard. "On the third day after my arrival at Augsburg," says Luther, "Urban returned and expostulated with me for not going to the cardinal, who would receive me very graciously. I answered, that I was under the necessity of following the advice of the excellent men to whom Prince Frederick had recommended me, and whose opinion it was, that I ought not, on any account, to appear before the cardinal, without a protection from the emperor, or some public pledge of personal safety. When that is obtained, and application is now making for it to the emperor's council, I am willing immediately to present myself before him." Urban, under some agitation, said, "What, do you imagine that Prince Frederick would take arms in your defence?" I answered that, "I did not wish any such thing." "But," replied he, "under whose protection can you be safe?" I made answer, "Under the protection of heaven." He then asked, if "I had the pope and cardinals in my power, what I would do to them?" To which I answered, "that I would show them all reverence and honour." On this he took a hasty leave and paid me no more visits.

Maximilian being absent on a hunting excursion, some days elapsed before obtaining the protection from him. Luther in the interval (Monday, October 11,) took up the pen and wrote to his friend Melancthon:—

"There is nothing new or unusual going on here, unless that the city is full of the rumour of my name, and that every one is desirous of seeing Erostratus the incendiary.*—Continue to behave manfully and to lead the youth in the right path. I am willing to be sacrificed for them and for you, if such be God's will. I choose rather to die and to lose what I should deeply lament—your delightful conversation, than to recant what I have said, and become the occasion of casting disrepute on the most commendable studies. Italy is plunged in Egyptian darkness—all are ignorant of Christ and of the things that are Christ's.—Yet these are the men who are to remain our masters in faith and morals!"

The imperial protection was now granted to Luther, and an official notice of it sent to Cajetan. This however was merely the fulfilment of a form, Cajetan having been privy to the discussion on the subject in the emperor's council.† Luther, having received his safe-guard, proceeded to wait on the legate, who received him very politely, and said that he had no intention to enter into argument, but hoped to settle their differences by private and unreserved conversation. This condescending tone was assumed in the hope of obtaining Luther's acquiescence to the demands which he was about to make;

* Erostratus set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus upon the day that Alexander the Great was born.

† Epist. Cajet. ad Frider. ap. Luth. I. 220.

and in the complete confidence of victory if they should proceed to argue. He began by desiring, in the pope's name, that Luther should do three things: first, abjure his past errors; second, abstain from inculcating them in future; and, third, abstain from all errors which might have a tendency to disturb the peace of the church. Luther was on the point of remarking that had he been disposed to recant, he might as well have done it at Wittemberg, and spared himself the trouble of the journey. He confined himself, however, to requesting Cajetan to inform him in what point his errors lay, as he was not conscious of any. On this the legate found great fault with his conduct in two respects: the first, and that on which he laid the chief stress, was his opposition to the sale of Indulgences, and consequently to the bull of Pope Clement VI. which he imagined Luther had not seen. But Luther soon informed him that he had carefully perused not only that bull, but another published by Sixtus IV. without being able to assent to them, as they contained many things contrary to Scripture. Cajetan, relying on his scholastic learning, referred to the authority of Thomas Aquinas in support of the bull. This Luther resisted, insinuating that Cajetan seemed to prefer the authority of Aquinas to that of Scripture. Cajetan, conscious of his unacquaintance with Scripture, and ill prepared for contradiction from a person in Luther's humble station, had recourse to direct and confident assertion, maintaining that his Holiness was not only supreme head of the church, but superior in authority to a General Council. He referred to the rejection and dissolution of the Council of Basil, and passed a severe censure on Gerson

and his followers, by whom chiefly the measures of that Council were directed. Luther had not expected the legate to proceed so far in his assertion of papal prerogative. He appealed, in reply, to the declaration of the university of Paris, the most eminent seminary at that time in Europe, and with whom the superiority of a General Council to the pope had been a favourite doctrine. On this the legate observed with warmth, "The Parisians shall see what punishment awaits them."—*Videbunt pœnas suas.**

The second point of debate related to the necessity of faith in those who take the sacrament. Instead of regarding the sacrament as a memorial of the death of Christ, the Catholics involve a very plain doctrine in obscurity and mysticism. They affirm that, by the magic of a priest's benediction, plain bread and plain wine are transubstantiated into the real body of Christ, which they at the same time admit to be in heaven. This opinion Luther opposed, and desired of Cajetan that, in their arguments, reference should be had only to the Scriptures and to those canons, the authority of which was acknowledged by them both. Cajetan assented to this limitation, but was unable, in the course of discussion, to refrain from founding his arguments on the authority of the scholastic doctors. It was in vain that Luther called on him to adduce in support of his opinion a single argument either from Scripture or the Fathers. "*Peto unam Scripturæ auctoritatem, vel sanctorum patrum, quæ sit contra meam, hanc sententiam.*"† But whenever Luther

* Luth. i. 222. † Luth. i. 222.

laid stress on Scripture, the legate endeavoured to turn him into ridicule. Another remarkable circumstance was their difference in estimating the comparative importance of the two points in dispute. Luther regarded that of the sacrament as by much the more serious, while Cajetan, viewing things through the medium of calculation, did not scruple to say, in a subsequent conversation with Linccius, that if Luther would not oppose Indulgences, the business could be easily settled, the difference with respect to the sacrament being "susceptible of interpretation."—So much nearer was money than faith to the heart of this son of the church.

Luther, finding after a long conversation that he could not succeed in fixing the legate to a point, broke off the interview by desiring time for reflection. Conscious of his own warmth, and apprehending that without witnesses his behaviour might be misrepresented, he made his appearance next day, (October 13) attended by four Imperial senators, a notary, and witnesses. There were present also the envoys of the elector of Saxony, Philip Feilitsch, a knight, John Ruel, a lawyer, and Staupitz, who had arrived in the interval at Augsburg. In presence of these witnesses Luther read to the legate a written declaration, which purported that, in maintaining his opinions, he was actuated by no want of respect to the church. It was drawn in legal form, and was as follows:

"I, Brother Martin Luther, call to witness that I have respected and am disposed to respect the holy Roman church in all my sayings and actions, past, present, and future, and that if I have said,

or shall say any thing to the contrary, it is my wish to account it, and that others should account it, as not said." He then recites the three concessions already mentioned as required by the cardinal, and thus proceeds, "I have sought and argued for truth only; I cannot therefore be condemned for merely seeking it, much less be compelled to recant unheard and unconvinced. I this day declare that I am not conscious to myself of having said any thing contrary to the holy Scripture, the Fathers of the church, the decretals of the popes, or right reason: but that every proposition which I have expressed appears to me to be strictly true, and consistent with the catholic faith. Nevertheless, as I am liable to error like other men, I have submitted and do now submit myself to the determination and judgment of the true Holy Church, and to all my superiors in knowledge. Meantime, fully to satisfy my opponents, I offer personally to assign a reason for the sentiments I have espoused, either here or elsewhere, and even in public if it be required; and if this be not agreeable to the right reverend legate, I am prepared to answer objections in writing, and to abide by the judgment and decision of the Imperial universities of Basil, Friburg, Louvain; or, if that be not sufficient, by that of Paris itself."

In this second conference, Cajetan, still confident of success, continued to speak with his former volubility. In one point he allowed his ardour to carry him so far as to make an assertion, which on the actual inspection of the canons, he found it necessary to confess a mistake in Luther's presence. Staupitz, perceiving that from a discussion so loosely carried on, no practical good could result, proposed

that at the next interview Luther should give in his defence in writing. This accordingly took place on October 14, Luther delivering a defence of the two propositions which had been impugned by the legate, and repeating his former arguments in positive terms. If the two former interviews augured unfavourably, the third was fatal to all hope of accommodation. It was now apparent that nothing but the clearest argument would satisfy Luther, and that he paid no deference to official rank. Cajetan lost all temper, and threatened to send Luther to Rome. He broke off the conversation by commanding him to leave his presence and not to return until sent for. After this hasty step, Cajetan appears to have been in no small embarrassment about the plan to be pursued. Apprehensive of that censure at the court of Rome which was the ordinary lot of unsuccessful negociators, and conscious that he had acted too imperiously, he felt the necessity of trying the experiment of conciliation. On the same day that he had behaved so precipitately to Luther, he sent for Staupitz, and solicited him to use his influence, as provincial vicar of the Augustinians in Saxony, to induce Luther to recant, assuring him that recantation did not necessarily imply delinquency. Staupitz having promised compliance, the legate made the further request that he would "confute Luther from the Scripture," to which Staupitz frankly replied, that he required what was above his ability, "Luther being his superior both in general attainments and in knowledge of the Scripture."

Cajetan's assurance, that Luther would incur no delinquency by recanting, was spurned at by the latter the moment Staupitz mentioned it. He justly

argued, that a recantation would subject him to the perpetual infamy attached to those who act from the fear of man, and abjure truth in defiance of their conviction. In making the attempt, Cajetan had in view the official authority of Staupitz over Luther in his capacity of provincial. But this alternative had been foreseen, and Luther had been absolved by Staupitz from obedience previously to the conference, for the double purpose of exempting the Augustinians, as a body, from responsibility, and for affording an excuse to Staupitz, if ordered to exercise authority against Luther.

In subsequent days, when Luther was enabled to look back with composure on his early troubles, he used to call Cajetan's denunciation, excommunication the first. The hostile decree of the pope, which we shall have occasion to notice by and bye, he called excommunication the second, and that of the emperor Charles at the Diet of Worms, excommunication the third. At present, however, he was surrounded by friends of less energy than himself, and who spared no pains to persuade him of the necessity of pacifying the cardinal. The result of their entreaties was apparent in a letter sent by Luther to that prelate a few days after, viz. October 17, and composed in a style altogether different from his ordinary language. In this submissive communication, Luther, after alluding to the admonitions of his friends, and his respect for the representative of papal majesty, admitted that he had spoken of the pope indiscreetly and irreverently; that, although he had received considerable provocation, he now understood that it was his duty to have treated the subject with more humility: that he regretted the past,

and should henceforth endeavour to speak after a different manner: that, in respect to Indulgences, he was perfectly ready to let the subject rest, provided that either silence or moderation of language were imposed on those who had given him provocation. He requested that the whole cause should be referred to the pope, so that these doubtful points being settled by the authority of the church, he might know whether it was incumbent on him to believe or to recant. And, to impress the necessity of a speedy decision by the church, he enlarged on the inutility of recantation without complete conviction.

This letter appears considerably at variance with the frankness and boldness of Luther's character. But, in judging it, we are to take into account as well the timidity of his advising friends, as his own anxiety to act the part of a true son of the church; a character, which as yet he identified with that of a sincere inquirer after truth. Besides, the juncture was replete with alarm; he, as well as Staupitz, being at a distance from home and in a quarter where their enemies had power. Hence the apparent contradiction in his proceedings. On the 16th October he had privately prepared a protest addressed to the "Pope when better informed," recapitulating his conduct and motives in the late controversy, along with a short detail of the measures which had been taken against him. On the 17th he was prevailed on to take a very different step, and to write the submissive letter already mentioned; and on the 18th he again took up the pen and composed a letter to the legate, containing a notice of the protest and of his inability to remain longer at Augsburg. This letter, though less submissive than that of the 17th,

is still a good deal different from Luther's usual tone. But neither it, nor the protest, was transmitted to the legate till after his departure from Augsburg, which took place suddenly on Wednesday, October 20. Cajetan having taken no notice of the letter of 17th, and having been heard to drop threats,* Luther, early in the morning, mounted a horse provided by his trusty friend, Staupitz. Quitting the city by a private gate, he rode nearly forty miles that day, a continuance of exercise so unusual with him, that on dismounting he lay down on the ground and fell asleep. Staupitz, equally alarmed, left Augsburg soon after, while Linccius and Luther's host, the prior of the Carmelites, lost no time in following the prudent example.

These sudden departures gave great offence to Cajetan. His displeasure was increased by the publication, a few days after, of Luther's protest of 16th of October. A monk had engaged to deliver this document to Cajetan, but wanting courage to face the legate, he affixed it to the market place. On this Cajetan took up the pen and wrote to the elector Frederick a letter couched in a very high tone. He asserted that he had obtained a victory in disputation over Luther, complained of the clandestine departure of him and Staupitz, and urged Frederick not to forget the respect due to his own character by protecting Luther. He addressed him as pledged in conscience and in honour to expel Luther from his territories, and send him to Rome; adding, significantly, that so pestilent a heresy

* Jactavit sese habere mandatum ut et me et vicarium incarceraret. Act. Aug. ap. Luth. Oper.

conld not be suffered to exist, for at Rome they would follow up the matter as soon as they had received his report of what had passed.

It was at Nuremberg, on his return, that Luther first received notice that the pope's brief to Cajetan had gone so far as to appoint the legate, not a disputant merely, but a judge. Though unwilling to ascribe to the pope personally the origin of so arbitrary a proceeding, he could not fail to consider it as a convincing proof of the rancour of those who guided the Romish councils. He now looked for nothing but persecution from a quarter in which he had hitherto cherished the hope of justice. Deprivation of his appointment as professor of divinity, and separation from those whom he most loved and valued, were dangers which now appeared to impend over him. Frederick was, to a certain extent, friendly; but how far could he make reliance on his venturing to incur the anger of the court of Rome? In confidential intercourse with his ministers the elector held encouraging language, but this was partly unknown to Luther, and the backwardness of the court of Saxony in regard to public proceedings was calculated to lessen his confidence. He had prepared, and sent to press, a narrative of what had passed at Augsburg, but the printing was twice suspended by Frederick's order, and the final leave to publish was obtained with difficulty. At one time Luther had serious thoughts of repairing to Paris, and of putting himself under the protection of the university, whose sentiments on the pope's power were similar to his own. From this, however, Frederick dissuaded him, and his own partiality to the establishment at Wittemberg, which

had flourished under his auspices, came strongly in aid of the negative advice.

In this season of anxious suspense, Luther wrote to Spalatin in the month of November, and dwelt on the former suggestion of an application from the elector to the pope for a trial in Germany. "Not," adds he, "that I am very anxious about my own safety. It is cause of great grief to me, that I am not worthy to suffer, in an eminent degree, for the truth. By my journey to Augsburg I courted danger almost to the tempting of God. The prosperity of our university is the chief ground of my anxiety. I am unwilling that the studies of our most excellent youth, who are wonderfully ardent in the investigation of the Scriptures, should be strangled in the birth." In another letter to the same person, he pathetically compares himself to Abraham, the father of the faithful, who, on forsaking his country and his nation, knew not whither he was going; but, full of hope and confidence, like that man of God, Luther adds, "I do know, for God is every where."

The elector, on receiving Cajetan's letter, was of opinion that Luther's cause should be brought under the immediate review of the emperor, and a communication to that effect from Frederick to Pfeffinger, who was then at Augsburg, bearing date 19th November, is still in existence. It relates what Cajetan had done and written, and renews a former instruction to Pfeffinger to recommend to the emperor to interpose his authority and write to Rome, that the cause should either be amicably settled, or investigated by disinterested persons in Germany. The elector at the same time communicated Cajetan's letter to Luther, desiring him to answer the theolo-

gical part of it; a task which Luther forthwith undertook and produced a reply in the form of a letter to Frederick. This reply has been the subject of great abuse on the part of the Roman Catholics, and of no less praise from the reformed. It differs, in several respects, from the account of the Augsburg transactions given by Cajetan. After finishing the narrative, Luther proceeds to refute the propositions advanced as arguments by Cajetan, and accomplishes the task with great felicity. This tract was published both in Latin and German and favourably received by all ranks. Its Latin style is superior to that of any of Luther's other pieces; and towards the conclusion, in alluding to his own humble station and imminent danger, he becomes truly pathetic. After affirming that Cajetan's great object was to send him to Rome, he adds,

"I am almost prepared to submit to the pains of exile, for I perceive that my enemies have laid snares for me on all sides, nor do I know where I can live in safety. What can I, a poor and humble monk expect, or rather what danger ought I not to dread, since so illustrious a prince is exposed to threats unless he send me to Rome or banish me from his territories? Wherefore, lest any injury should befall your Highness on my account, I am willing to forsake my native country and to go wherever a merciful God shall be pleased to direct, leaving the issue to his will. Therefore, most illustrious Prince, I respectfully bid you farewell, and take my leave with infinite thanks for all the favours you have been pleased to confer on me. In whatever part of the world I may be, I shall never be unmindful of your Highness, but shall pray

sincerely and gratefully for your happiness and that of your family."

This letter Luther sent to his friend Spalatin for perusal before transmitting it to the elector. It was forwarded on 25th November, after which he appears to have passed a very anxious week. On the second of December, we find him writing to Spalatin: "Had not your letter arrived yesterday, I should certainly have been preparing for my departure, and even yet I know not what course to follow, though ready either to go or to remain. The anxiety expressed by my friends for my safety is astonishing and even greater than I can bear. Some persons have urged me very much to put myself into the elector's hands, that he might take me under his protection and be enabled to write the legate that I was in safe custody, as well as ready to appear and answer what was alleged against me; but how far that advice ought to be regarded, I leave entirely to your decision. I am in the hands of God and my friends."*

Luther's disquietude might have been lessened, had he been aware that the incautious expressions in Cajetan's letter, approaching in some degree to a threat, had roused the spirit of Frederick. The latter wrote, on the 18th of December, an answer to the legate, in substance as follows:

"Your letter of October 25th reached me on 19th November, not by a special messenger, but in the ordinary course of post. Luther's appearance at Augsburg I consider a fulfilment of all that has been promised on my part. Notwithstanding the assurances which you gave me of allowing him to de-

* Seckend. p. 53.

part with tokens of your regard, a recantation, I hear, was required of him before the subject was sufficiently discussed. Many learned men can see nothing impious, unchristian, or heretical in Luther's doctrine, and its chief opponents appear to be among those who do not understand it, or whose private interest stimulates them to opposition. I am always ready to do my duty as a Christian prince, and am therefore at a loss to conceive why there should be held out such threats, as that the court of Rome would follow up the cause, that Luther should be sent thither, or that he should be banished from my principality. He has, as yet at least, been convicted of no heresy, and his banishment would be very injurious to the university of Wittemberg. I enclose an answer to the other parts of your letter from Luther, whom I do not consider in the light of a heretic, because he has not been proved such, and, because it is consistent with justice that he should have a hearing."*

The tone and arguments of this letter are exactly in unison with what Luther himself had expressed. The members of the university of Wittemberg had, in the middle of November, entreated the elector to protect their colleague, and the success of their application may be traced in the letter which we have quoted. This unequivocal proof of Frederick's attachment gave Luther a fresh accession of courage. He well knew the cool and persevering disposition of the elector, and, confident of a candid hearing, he ventured, contrary to the advice of his friends, to publish a pretty full narrative of what had taken

* Luth. i. p. 221. Sleid, L. i. Seckend. p. 55.

place at Augsburg. Though he did not, to use his own expression,* expose to view the whole truth, he put on record enough of the extravagant pretensions of Cajetan, and of the court of Rome, to excite the public odium at their arrogance, and to pave the way for the adoption of more decided steps. Hitherto he had been satisfied with making his appeal to the pope, but the measures lately taken against him at Rome, having greatly lessened his attachment to Leo, he composed and sent to press on the 28th of November, an appeal from the pope to a general council.† His intention was that this appeal should not be published at the time, but kept back till he got farther notice of what was going on at Rome. He contracted accordingly with the printer to retain possession of all the copies; but such was the interest of the subject, that the printer was induced to give way to solicitation, and to dispose of almost the whole impression without Luther's knowledge.

Whilst Luther was thus preparing his weapons of defence, the guardians of the papal power continued to urge on Leo the necessity of vigorous measures against him. Believing that they might still venture to hold the arrogant language of earlier ages, a bull, or, as it was called, a decretal, addressed to the legate, was issued from the apostolic chamber on 9th November, though not published by Cajetan till 13th December. It contained an order to all ecclesiastical dignitaries in Germany to publish its contents under pain of suspension from their offices,

* Seckend. p. 56.

† Luth. i. 231. Sleid. L. i. Sarp. L. i. Seckend. p. 58.

the power of doing which was vested in Cajetan. This bull contained no argument, and was merely a repetition of the old doctrine of Indulgences, expressed with all the confidence of infallibility. No mention was made of Luther or of his opposition, from a desire, no doubt, to avoid giving him importance by bringing him before the public eye, as well as, by studied ambiguity, to keep the door open for his recantation. In short, the object of the bull was to maintain the reputation of Indulgences, and to resist any attempt at a diminution of the papal power in Germany.

We are now arrived at the close of this memorable year. Cajetan, in the course of next year, returned to Rome, and was considered as having acted with precipitancy as well towards Frederick as Luther. Mortified at the superiority of the latter in Scriptural erudition, he devoted himself with great assiduity to the study of Greek and Hebrew. We shall seldom meet with him in the subsequent collisions between Luther and the adherents of the church, but he lived eleven years after this date and published commentaries on Scripture, which procured him the reputation of being one of the most learned among the Dominicans. It had been fortunate for him had he earlier pursued this course, for his conversation at Augsburg with Luther, on the subject of Scripture, was such as to leave on the latter a suspicion of heresy, if not of atheism.*

* Luther's letter to Spalatin, Nov. 19, 1518.

CHAPTER V.

YEAR 1519.

MEANTIME the university of Wittemberg continued a kind of central point for the diffusion of the new doctrines. The fame of Luther and the respectability of Melancthon increased, more and more, the number of the students. The prosperity of this favourite establishment tended to confirm Frederick in his friendly disposition towards Luther's creed, and an event, which now occurred, increased considerably his power of promoting it. The death of the emperor Maximilian took place in the beginning of 1519, and left to Frederick, for a season, the uncontrolled direction of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws. This extension of authority continued during the five months which elapsed before the election of another emperor, a precious interval for the propagation of the new tenets. Without appearing openly to favour them, Frederick permitted them to take root in silence, and to acquire a degree of strength which enabled them to offer a successful resistance to future attempts at oppression.

Previously to Luther's appearance, Frederick had been reputed a zealous son of the church and had made application, in 1515, for what is termed a *Golden Rose*. Three years had elapsed without overcoming the difficulties in obtaining this singular

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and mysterious gift:* but political reasons now concurred to remove all obstacles in the way of a donation, which was expected to render Frederick a sincere defender of the church. In September, 1518, a communication was sent him from Rome that the golden rose was at last obtained, and would, together with the bulls relating to it, be speedily forwarded to him.

Cajetan having incurred the censure, whether real or ostensible, of his court, for his proceedings in the case of Luther, that part of his functions was committed to Miltitz, a Saxon by birth, and a layman. Miltitz possessed a large share of diplomatic address, and the circumstance of his being a layman was calculated to give the transactions respecting Luther a political rather than an ecclesiastical aspect. Having arrived in Saxony towards the end of 1518, one of his first steps was to summon Tetzel to appear before him at Altenburg. Tetzel had retired to a Dominican monastery at Leipsic, from which he replied to Miltitz that a compliance with his order would be attended with great personal danger to him, in consequence of the general ferment excited by Luther's opposition.

The example of Cajetan having evinced the impolicy of imperious measures, the instructions from the pope to Miltitz appear to have been of a contrary character. The nuncio having sought an early opportunity of a conference with Luther, an inter-

* Various mysteries were conceived to be implied by a golden rose. It was significative of the body of Christ, the most pleasant and beautiful of all flowers, &c. Seckend. p. 65. L'Enfant has given an account of its origin and emblematic power in L. vi. Sect. 56. of Hist. Conc. Constans.

view took place between them in Spalatin's house at Altenburg, on the 7th January 1519.* Miltitz, desirous of avoiding contentious ground, enlarged on the general danger of schism, and deplored that the seeds of discord should be sown in the church. To positions of this nature Luther could hardly fail to assent. The conversation became more spirited when Luther directed a pointed censure at Leo for accumulating ecclesiastical dignities on Albert, archbishop of Mentz,† and participating in the ignoble revenue of Indulgences. Miltitz was however determined that the conference should end amicably, and closed it with a repast and a cordial parting, the object of which Luther had now acquired sufficient knowledge of the world to comprehend. The final agreement was that Miltitz should refer the whole transaction to the pope; that the disputants should in the mean time be enjoined silence; that Luther should write to Leo, declaring his subjection to the papal See; and that a petition should be presented to Leo requesting him to remit the cognizance of the affair to some learned German bishops.‡ As a se-

* See Luther's account of this interview, T. i. 235; also Seckend. p. 61.

† Albert was archbishop of Magdeburg, primate of Germany, administrator of the bishoprick of Halberstat, and on 9th March 1514, was elected, in addition, archbishop of Mentz. Leo had granted him permission to hold the two archbishopricks at the same time; a thing, says Ciaconius, quite unknown to the church, and which never had happened to any prince. Vit. Pontif. p. 1429.

‡ Leo named the archbishops of Saltsburg, of Treves, and Freisingen. In a letter to Staupitz giving an account of the conference, Luther writes very significantly respecting Miltitz's behaviour.—*Atque vesperi, me accepto convivio, lætati sumus et*

quel to this conciliatory arrangement, Miltitz proceeded to express a public disapprobation of Tetzel's conduct. Having repaired to Leipsic, he sent for Tetzel and twice reprimanded him, in the presence of his provincial, for immorality as well as peculation. From Leipsic, Miltitz proceeded to Augsburg, whence, on the 6th February, he wrote to the court of Saxony, expressing a confident hope of an amicable adjustment of the controversy, and requesting that Luther should in the mean time abstain from any publication.

Miltitz now proceeded to Treves, where Cajetan happened to be, and where a step was proposed which seemed at variance with the late conciliatory proceedings. Luther having in his conversation with Miltitz expressed no aversion to defend himself before the archbishop of Treves, the admission was laid hold of, and it was resolved to send for him to plead his cause in presence of the archbishop. This desire was communicated in a letter from the elector of Treves to Frederick, bearing date 3d May. Frederick was aware that no good could result from the proposition, but, without giving it a negative, replied from Heldburg, one of his castles in Franconia, that he would make the communication to Luther, and converse personally with the elector of Treves on the subject when they should meet at Frankfort.

On the death of Maximilian, the electors took unanimously the determination of offering the imperial crown to Frederick. It had been the policy of their ancestors to avoid conferring this high rank

osculo mihi dato, discessimus. Ego sic me gessi quasi has Itelitates et simulationes non intelligerem. Seckend. p. 63.

on a prince, who from the magnitude of his power in other respects might be dangerous to their liberties. This objection applied strongly to both competitors, Francis and Charles. On the other hand, they saw in Frederick a prince who, without possessing too much power from his hereditary dominions, was admirably calculated to administer the affairs of the empire. But Frederick knew too well the disquietudes of governing to be tempted by the dazzling offer. He absolutely declined it, and gave, as his principal reason, that the danger to the empire from the side of Turkey, called for the nomination of a powerful prince. Charles, he added, had, as well from his German descent, as from being the hereditary sovereign of the countries most exposed to the Ottomans, the first claim in his opinion, to the suffrages of the Diet. These arguments were decisive of the election in favour of Charles, which took place accordingly on the meeting of the electors at Frankfort, in the month of June. In regard to Luther, an understanding took place that his proposed appearance before the elector of Treves should not be insisted on, but that his case should be taken into consideration at the first Diet held by the young emperor.

The papal court took a very lively interest in the proceedings relative to the election of an emperor. To Charles they were strongly adverse, the power of that prince in Italy being already such, that, with the addition of the empire, it could not fail to be subversive of the independence of the holy See. So long as there remained a hope of giving effect to the expectations of Francis I., the pope spared no pains to court so powerful a member of the electoral col-

lege as Frederick. And even after that hope was gone, the weight of Frederick's political influence rendered it desirable, to avoid giving him occasion of offence. Here, therefore, lay the secret of the forbearance displayed by the court of Rome in regard to Luther, who enjoyed, as they well knew, the good wishes of his prince.

Luther meanwhile continued to discharge his duty as professor and preacher with his usual energy and success. Nor was he dilatory in fulfilling his promise to Miltitz of addressing a dutiful letter to the pope. He wrote it from Altenburg on 3d March, 1519. Miltitz having demanded satisfaction for Luther's irreverence towards his Holiness, Luther declared himself exceedingly concerned at the charge, and maintained that his whole conduct had proceeded from a desire to defend the honour of the church. The wrath of Leo he could not bear, and yet knew not how to extricate himself from it. He was ready to recant as soon as his conviction should enable him, but his writings, in consequence chiefly of the opposition of his antagonists, had been very generally circulated and had made an impression not easily effaced. Moreover, Germany abounding in well informed men, the true way for him to honour the church was to be very cautious how he recanted, or gave occasion of ecclesiastical scandal to the world. "It is those, most Holy Father, whom I have resisted, who have brought disrepute on the church. Under the shelter of your name, and through means of the coarsest pretexts, they have gratified a detestable avarice and put on the most revolting hypocrisy. Now they proceed to throw on me the blame of the mischief that has

happened, but I protest before God and man, that I never did, nor at present do wish to make any infringement on the power of the church or your Holiness, confessing in the fullest manner that nothing in heaven or earth is to be preferred to it, except the power of Christ Jesus, who is Lord of all." He then repeats his offer to observe silence on the subject of Indulgences, provided his opponents would do the same; that he would recommend it to the common people to reverence the church; that he was anxious that discord should cease; and was ready to pursue any course by which these desirable things could be accomplished.*

This letter, like Luther's communication to Cajetan, has exposed him to the charge of great hypocrisy from his opponents. When considered, however, along with the prejudices under which he was educated and continued to labour, we can have very little doubt that it was expressive of his real sentiments. As yet he was far from declaring himself an enemy to the general measures of the court of Rome, because his state of knowledge, with which his resolutions never failed to keep pace, was not sufficiently advanced for the adoption of such a determination. There can be very little doubt that, wavering as he was, he inclined to the hope of a reconciliation with the church. His own opinions were by no means fixed; his studies were only in progress, and his inconsistencies are in a great measure to be accounted for by a very conspicuous feature in his character—the habit of com-

* Luth. i. 235. Sleid. L. i. Seckend. p. 65.

mitting without hesitation to writing the impressions of the moment. By way of counteracting any intemperance in his former publications, he now printed in German, and in a cheap form for general circulation, a religious treatise, discussing, with a very gentle hand, the contested points of the intercession of saints, purgatory, church censures, and the efficacy of good works. Yet, at the same time, it appears from his correspondence with Spalatin, that he was beginning to become seriously doubtful of the title of the see of Rome to the respect of the Christian world.*

It was in the beginning of this year, that the bishop of Brandenburg, Luther's diocesan, deviated from the passive course which he had hitherto held in regard to the Reformer's affairs. He called Luther before him, and expatiated at great length on his rashness in engaging in so arduous an enterprise. But Luther was too resolute to be deterred from his purpose, either by the admonition of men of rank or by a calculation of the consequences to himself. Nor was there wanting intelligence of a different nature to animate him in his course. He was informed about this time by the celebrated printer John Frobenius of Bazil, that his writings were read and approved of at Paris even by the doctors of the Sorbonne; that the whole edition which he had printed was dispersed in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere, and had received the general approbation of the learned. Intelligence equally agreeable was communicated to the elector of Saxony, a short time after, in a letter from Erasmus at Ant-

* Seckend. p. 70.

werp: "I perceive," he said, "that Luther's books are most eagerly read by all the best judges of this place." * Frederick's answer to Erasmus bore honourable testimony to the Reformer, and showed how acceptable he accounted such communications. Not long after, Erasmus gave Luther an equally favourable testimony in regard to the sentiments of our countrymen: "Your writings," he said, "have warm admirers in England, and among persons too of the highest rank." †—Important communications these, and proceeding from a highly respected quarter; but the sequel will shew that the eventual conduct of this distinguished scholar, in regard to the Reformation, little corresponded with his favourable disposition at its outset.

Meanwhile the body of the clergy, regular as well as secular, began to employ their influence in checking the progress of Luther's doctrine. The Franciscan Minorites held a convention at Interbok, and, without considering their own incompetency, proceeded to take Luther's writings under consideration. Their rooted antipathy to the Augustinians gave a spur to their researches for the detection of heresy in a member of that body. They ventured to enumerate fifteen specific points containing the principal topics in which Luther differed from the church of Rome, along with some others more nearly relating to themselves, the Reformer having boldly asserted that the claim of the Bohemians to the title of Christians was superior to that of the

* "Certe hic video libros Lutheri ab optimis quibusque cupidissime legi." Luth. i. 237.

† "Habes in Anglia, qui de tuis scriptis optime sentiunt, et sunt hi maximi."

Minorites. They submitted the grievous catalogue to the bishop of Brandenburg, in the confident expectation that it would lead to an interdiction of any farther circulation of such obnoxious sentiments. But Luther had encountered more formidable enemies than the Minorites or his diocesan, and retorted on the former in a style which they little expected. Referring to their acknowledged deficiency in learning, he expressed surprise at their presumption in attempting to decide on what they did not understand. He called on them to apologize for their rashness and to restore to him his good name, without which he was determined to publish their "scrawl," and subjoin a confutation in which their ignorance should be exposed to the world. After briefly refuting their positions, he concluded by offering them the choice of peace or war. The result was, that the Minorites undertook no farther hostilities with this unsparing adversary.

The public attention was next called to a disputation more worthy of the Reformer's cause. Among the numerous converts to his doctrine, he now reckoned the archdeacon of the church of All Saints at Wittemberg. The name of this zealous advocate was Bodenstein, but with the affectation common among the *literati* of the age, he assumed the adjunct of Carolostadius, derived from Carolostad in Franconia, the place of his birth. He was older than Luther, having presided as dean when the latter received his doctor's degree in 1512.* He had already published a pamphlet in opposition to Eckius, who lost no time in rejoining.

* Seckend. p. 72.

Carolostad again took up the pen, but both parties soon became eager to relinquish this indecisive mode of warfare for a more conspicuous exhibition by public disputation. The city of Leipsic was chosen as the place of meeting, and thither each party repaired with their friends on the appointed day, 27th June. Luther was now persuaded to deviate from his former humility, and no longer entered the scene of discussion alone and on foot. His cause had grown in importance, and his friends had multiplied. It was determined therefore that their entrance into Leipsic should be made with considerable *éclat*. Carolostad led the procession, seated alone in a chariot; Bernim, prince of Pomerania, a student at the university of Wittemberg and its honorary rector, followed, accompanied by Luther and Melancthon; while a number of the students, zealous in Luther's cause, and wearing armour, according to the fashion of the day, brought up the rear. An unlucky accident to Carolostad's carriage, the breaking of a wheel as he passed St. Paul's church, afforded matter of exultation to his superstitious opponents. The disputation was conducted in the presence of George, duke of Saxony, who, however, took occasion to withdraw at what he thought a fit opportunity of throwing odium on Luther's cause. There were present, likewise, the members of the duke's council, the magistrates of Leipsic, the doctors and bachelors of the university, along with a number of persons from the city and adjacent country, among whom the theses had been dispersed. The greatest formality was observed. Scribes were appointed to take notes of the debate, and the intro-

ductory oration was delivered by a literary man, named Moselanus, who afterwards gave an account of the disputation.

Eckius, though hardly thirty years of age, had acquired fame by his disputations in no fewer than eight universities. Carolostad was less accustomed to rapidity of debate, but amply provided with notes and references to authorities. He had brought along with him a carriage loaded with books, and referred, during the disputation, to one volume after the other with indefatigable perseverance. The subjects, however, were unprofitable, the abstruse doctrine of the freedom of the will being the principal point of debate and involving the disputants in the endless subtleties of the schoolmen. A whole week was lost in these incomprehensible arguments, and Melancthon, who was a hearer, declared that it first gave him a practical demonstration of what the ancients understood by "sophistry." Carolostad excited respect both by his zeal and erudition, but his antagonist was superior in ease of elocution. Eckius maintained that he had brought over his opponent to his sentiments; for that Carolostad believed in the same doctrine, though he rejected the authority of the Scotists and Thomists. The fact was that Eckius was tired of the debate with Carolostad and eager to enter the lists, with a more conspicuous antagonist. "Before the disputation had begun at all, he came up to me," says Luther, "with a familiar air, and said, that he had heard that I declined to come forward as a debater." To this, I answered, "How can I take a share in the debate, since I am unable to procure a protection from duke George? He has permitted me

to enter Leipsic as a spectator only." On this, Eckius said, "It was on your account I came hither; if I am not permitted to argue with you, I will not with Carolostad. If I succeed in obtaining a protection for you, will you then dispute with me?" I made answer, "Procuro it and I will." Eckius on this withdrew and obtained the desired protection." *

The contest between these distinguished combatants began on 4th July at an early hour. Luther had published thirteen propositions to be defended by him, and Eckius had published thirteen others in direct opposition. These related chiefly to the doctrine of Indulgences, of repentance, of purgatory, but, above all, to the pope's prerogative, as supreme head of the church. The last was selected to begin the debate, on account either of its superior interest, or, as has been suspected, through the art of Eckius, who aimed at gaining favour by vindicating the claims of the pontiff—in this the point of all others dearest to Romish prejudice. It had the effect likewise of placing Luther on very delicate ground. Both parties acknowledged the pope as universal bishop, but on what foundation? Eckius affirmed that he derived his rank from divine authority: Luther boldly advanced that it arose only from human institutions. Eckius was very sententious in argument, and appealed to the authority of the Fathers: Luther here found himself at home, subjected the passages quoted to a rigid scrutiny, and maintained that they were too vague to establish the question of divine right.

* Luth. Præf.

Five days were devoted to this part of the controversy, and the disputants continuing as wide of each other as at the outset, it was mutually agreed to quit the subject and discuss the doctrine of purgatory. The defence of Indulgences, the primary source of all this warfare, was now abandoned and ridiculed even by Eckius. Finally the doctrine of repentance was agitated and the disputation ended on the 15th July.

The best account of this celebrated debate is given by Melancthon. The disputants, he says, were often apt to fall into extraneous discussion, but were entitled, on the whole, to great praise. Carolostad was distinguished by ardour and perseverance; Eckius by the variety and prompt application of his arguments; while Luther gave equal proofs of vivacity, learning, and zeal. When the disputation was concluded, John Langius of Lemberg delivered an oration, ascribing considerable merit to Luther and Carolostad, but discovering an evident partiality to Eckius. It was necessary that a decision on the subjects in dispute should be given by some competent authority, and a reference was made by common consent to the universities of Paris and Erfurt, Luther taking the precaution to reserve an ultimate appeal to a general council. The members of the university of Leipsic had seen too much of the interest taken by their students in Luther's cause, to venture on giving a decision. The young men had listened to him with eager attention, and many of them now left their seminary and repaired to Wittemberg.*

* Seckend. p. 92. See Appendix W.

Whatever moderation Eckius discovered in the course of the disputation, appears to have forsaken him immediately after it. Whether disappointed at the indecisive issue of the debate, or irritated by Luther's vehemence, he wrote, so early as the 23d. July, to the elector Frederick, insisting that Luther's books should be burned. Fresh fuel was added to his flame, a few days after, by the discovery, some how or other, of the contents of a letter from Melancthon to Ocolampadius, which described the disputation, without allowing Eckius the share of praise to which he thought himself entitled. This brought forth an angry letter from the impatient disputant to Melancthon, whom he treated as a mere grammarian, unfit to form an opinion on a theological point. Melancthon returned an answer, which, along with the various pieces relative to this disputation, is inserted in Luther's works.

To the intemperate letter addressed to the elector Frederick, that prince, with his usual caution, returned a civil but general answer. Eckius now lost all patience, and, in a subsequent letter, poured a torrent of abuse on the character and doctrines of Luther. The Reformer retaliated with his accustomed spirit, alleging, in exulting language, that Eckius had been found inferior in argument to Carolostad. Nothing however was more mortifying to Eckius than a satirical pamphlet printed under the humble title of an "Answer by the unlearned Lutheran Canons."* It was published anonymously, but was afterwards acknowledged by Ocolampadius.

* "Responsio indoctorum Canonicorum Lutheranorum."

At the same time the professor of canon law at Leipsic, whose name was Jerome Emser, took up the pen against Luther, and assailed him with much asperity. The Reformer lost no time in giving a reply and in retorting his adversary's invective with redoubled vehemence.

It remains to mention the opinions pronounced on these subjects by the universities. Cologne and Louvain, being entirely subservient to the court of Rome, decided against Luther in the course of a few months. But the Parisian doctors gave no opinion till 1521; when, without taking notice of the Leipsic disputation, they extracted some theses from Luther's books and passed a formal censure on them.*

The effect of this celebrated disputation was to widen greatly the breach between the church and Luther, and to give an additional range to the flame of his opposition. The bishop of Mersburg, apprehending this result, had endeavoured to prevent the disputation, and had affixed an interdict of it on the doors of the church where it was to take place. But duke George, confident of the success of his Catholic champion, made the senate order the paper to be torn down and the man who had affixed it to be put in prison. It was in a similar expectation of victory to Eckius, that duke George relaxed so far from his original intention as to let Luther come forward as a disputant. The churches of the city, however, were shut against the Reformer as a preacher, and it was with much dif-

* Luth. ii. 36, 37. Seckend. p. 93.

ficulty that Bernim, prince of Pomerania, got leave for Luther to do duty before a limited audience in the castle. Luther gladly ascended the pulpit and the discourse which he delivered bore the marks of his usual animation. Instead of accommodating himself to the feelings of duke George and his court, he enlarged, with great energy, on his own favourite doctrines, and gave unpardonable offence to the bigots around him. He has inserted an abstract of this sermon in his works,* and it is to it, along with the doubts which he ventured to express of the justice of the decrees against Huss by the council of Constance, that he in a great measure ascribes his final rupture with the pope. His diocesan, the bishop of Brandenburg, now lost all hope of reclaiming him to the church, and duke George was mortified beyond measure at the failure of a disputation from which he and Eckius had expected so much. The duke was a weak man and easily blinded by those about him. He had no turn for free inquiry or even for scholastic erudition. The long disputation about the pope had completely tired him, and he broke it off by a remark which, in his opinion, was quite conclusive, "Be his right divine, or be it human, he is still pope of Rome."

Luther had now leisure for farther publications, and printed, in September this year, his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians. It is said to have been prepared for the press from notes taken by

* Vol. i. p. 292.

the hearers of his discourses on that epistle. When shown to Luther, he was struck with their accuracy and consented to their publication. In this work he continued to speak respectfully of the pope, though in the succeeding editions he changed his tone. None of St. Paul's epistles require more patient examination than that to the Galatians. The ambiguity and frequent recurrence of the word "law" and the allegory in the fourth chapter, have a considerable tendency to perplex the inquirer. In those days hardly any thing like rational criticism had been applied to the sacred canon, and the reader, who expects in Luther's commentary a critical exposition of the epistles, cannot fail to be disappointed. The Reformer, at all times too eager to arrive at a conclusion, wrote this work with a view to the refutation of certain tenets of the Catholics, so that after an illustration of the doctrine of justification by faith, we find him chiefly occupied with exposing the ignorance and unprincipled habits of the ecclesiastics. Its store of practical remark has given it a kind of permanent popularity, and Luther himself, when living afterwards in the greatest conjugal happiness, looked back with predilection to this early effort, and used to say of it, in reference to his wife's name, *Epistola ad Galatas est mea Epistola, cui me despondi; est mea Catharina de Bora.**

Amidst all his avocations Luther found leisure to write a little work for the comfort of the sick, which he entitled "*Tessaradeca Consolatoria pro laborantibus et oneratis.*" The immediate occasion

* Seckend. p. 134, 139.

of its composition was an indisposition of the elector Frederick. It is a curious production, and contains evidence of that contemplative turn of mind which was all along conspicuous in Luther. To bring relief to the mind of his patron, he exhibits a picture of the situation of mankind as it is affected by the unpleasant circumstances inherent in our present depraved state. He next takes a comprehensive survey of the various evils attendant on our condition, dividing them rather whimsically, into those which are "future or before us; past or behind us; above or below us;" and finally "on our right and left." In the latter part of the treatise, he endeavours to supply antidotes for this long catalogue of misfortunes. The work contains a number of ingenious observations, mixed, it must be confessed, with remarks indicative of Luther's peculiarities and ardour. A very competent judge, (Erasmus,) makes an explicit acknowledgment of its piety and merit.*

It was towards the end of this year that Luther began to express without reserve his dissent from the church of Rome on the subject of the sacrament. His ideas on this head were never very clear; and were productive, as we shall find in the sequel, of disputes between him and other eminent reformers. He, as well as the followers of the church of Rome, were no doubt misled by the words of the institution, which they took in a literal instead of a figurative sense. Luther saw, in part, the fallacy of the Catholic doctrine, but he went

* In the year 1523 Erasmus wrote, in regard to this treatise: "Mitto libellum qui magnopere probatus est."

no farther than to supply its place by the theory of "consubstantiation," which is still less consistent than the kindred notion of "transubstantiation." This vision he had adopted at an early period of life, and adhered pertinaciously to it throughout his career. His predilection to this theory, must, like that of the Romanists to their's, be ascribed in great measure to the attachment so frequently apparent in the mind to what it does not understand. Luther had very little assistance in his studies, and the age in which he lived was not sufficiently impressed with the simplicity of the real doctrines of the Gospel to regard the bread and wine in the communion as plain bread and plain wine. The church of Rome, desirous to exalt the priesthood above the laity, affected to consider the former as members of a distinct society. Accordingly in their sacrament the wine is not distributed to the laity, and the boldness of the Bohemian schismatics in deviating completely from this distinction, appeared to Luther to be going a step too far. This and some other unlucky differences lessened considerably the connection between him and that persecuted people; and his work on the Galatians, which we have just mentioned, contains abundant proof of his hostility to this part of their tenets.

At the close of this year (27th December) the elector Frederick received from his cousin, duke George, a letter intreating him to discourage and oppose Luther. Matters were however now so far altered that the title of *Doctor et vir celeberrimus* was granted to Luther even by an enemy. The duke enlarged on Luther's presumption in always

printing his discourses, as if no one were capable of instructing mankind but himself. Desirous of connecting Luther with the odious names of Huss and Jerome, the duke warned his cousin lest Luther, from being professor of divinity at Wittemberg, should become heresiarch of Prague. More than six thousand persons in Bohemia had, he understood, received the communion in both elements after the publication of Luther's sermon on the sacrament. The elector returned an immediate answer to the duke's letter, and stated that he never had and never intended to constitute himself the defender of what Luther had published; that he studiously avoided taking any part in the controversy, and accordingly did not pretend to form a judgment on the publication on the sacrament which had called forth his cousin's letter. He made, however, the important addition that he had heard it praised by several persons whom he deemed competent judges and good Christians—a pretty significant declaration of his determination to protect the Reformer.

Luther's occupations had now increased so much that we find him, in his letters to Spalatin, complaining greatly of their multiplicity. In addition to his routine of duty as an Augustinian, and to his labour in teaching, his correspondence was wonderfully extended, and the demand on his conversation, by friend and stranger, formed a very serious tax on his time.

It was in the course of this year that Tetzel died, leaving a memory equally odious to both parties.

CHAPTER VI.

YEAR 1520.

THE year 1520 was no less remarkable than the preceding for a display of Luther's activity. Scarcely was it begun when he published in German a pamphlet on the sacrament. About the same time he ventured to address a letter, in defence of the new doctrine, to the young emperor Charles V. That prince was under great obligations to Frederick, and Luther, who, like others, was as yet a stranger to his cold, calculating character, entertained hopes that the impulse of gratitude might render him tolerant, if not favourable, to the reformed cause. He makes in this letter a declaration to the following effect.

"The violent publications which have taken place are to be ascribed to the intemperance of my enemies. My object has been to circulate nothing but evangelical truth in opposition to traditionary superstitions. I have called, but in vain, on my adversaries to point out in what respect my opinions are erroneous. I now find it necessary, after the example of Athanasius, to invoke the protection of the Imperial majesty, but I desire it no longer than until my arguments have received a fair hearing, after which I shall either conquer or be conquered."

A few days after, Luther gave to the world, in the

shape of a protestation, or open declaration of his tenets, a repetition of what he had written to the emperor. This was speedily followed by a letter, dated February 4, and addressed to Albert, archbishop of Mentz. It was expressed in terms equally respectful and submissive as the letter to the emperor; but, being directed to an ecclesiastic, it contained a fuller statement of the theological discussion. Imputing the hostility displayed against him, in a great measure, to persons who had never read his writings, Luther entreated the archbishop to take the trouble of perusing them. The prelate's reply was expressed in a style of greater attention than might have been expected from a personage so completely devoted to the court of Rome. It was addressed "*Honorabili et religioso nobis in Christo dilecto, Martino Luthero, Theologiæ Professori.*"* The sequel, short as it was, bore the mark of coming from a practised politician. The archbishop avoided any discussion of Luther's works, by declaring that he had not had leisure to peruse them; and accordingly would not attempt to censure them, but leave that to his superiors who had already undertaken the task. He inculcated strongly the propriety of moderation, and, whilst he saw no harm in learned men indulging in speculations on controverted points, he conceived that such discussions might be injurious to the multitude.

Luther's object in these letters was to show that his sentiments were less violent than report had stated them. On the day of writing to the archbi-

* Luth. ii, 46.

shop of Mentz, he addressed the bishop of Mersburg on the same subject, but in a style of greater freedom. The reply likewise contained a much more direct reproof than had been administered to him by the archbishop of Mentz. He paid Luther, however, the compliment of styling him "venerable brother," and promised to give his observations at more length when they should happen to meet. The caution shown by both prelates sufficiently indicates that Luther's cause had acquired too much popularity to make open contradiction advisable.

We now return to Miltitz, who had, in the beginning of the preceding year, made a favourable outset in the negociation with Luther. Since then he had had the mortification of seeing his measures arrested in their progress by the impatience of others, and Luther rendered much less tractable by the popularity of his publications. Miltitz, however, was still desirous of doing all he could to prevent matters from going farther wrong.* But it was an arduous task to give a satisfactory direction to so many individuals opposite in temper and actuated by contrary motives. The letters of Miltitz are still extant in the library of Saxe-Gotha, and, if they create no favourable impression of his candour, they show that the temperate conduct which he desired to pursue was much more likely to prove successful than that which was adopted by others.†

After various conferences of less importance, Miltitz determined to make a vigorous effort to prevail

* See Appendix X.

† Seckendorff has preserved them and has inserted their substance in pp. 98, 99, of his work.

on Luther to express by letter his esteem for the pope, and beseech his Holiness to interfere according to his wonted goodness. With this view he prevailed on the Augustinians to send a deputation to Luther with a request to that effect. Luther promised to comply and to prefix the desired letter to his next publication. This produced the famous address to the pope published along with his treatise on "Christian Liberty." It is so remarkable as to have a claim on the particular attention of all who analyze the progressive changes in the Reformer's conduct. Its chief object appears to have been an exemption of the pope personally from the charges made by Luther against the church of Rome. Such, no doubt, was the desire of Miltitz and the Augustinians, and such, it is probable, was Luther's intention in beginning to write the letter. But he seems to have become so warmed with his subject, as to devote himself much more keenly to the accusation of the church than to the vindication of its head. His letter is in substance as follows.

"It is impossible for me to be unmindful of your Holiness, since my sentiments concerning the papal office are held forth every where as the chief cause of continuing the contest. By means of the impious flatterers of your Holiness, who, without cause, are full of wrath against me, I have been compelled to appeal from the See of Rome to a general Council. But my affection for your Holiness has never been alienated, though I begin to despise and to triumph over those who have sought to terrify me by the majesty of your authority. One thing, however, I cannot despise, and that is the cause of my writing

this letter; I mean the blame thrown on me for reflecting on your Holiness personally."

To this charge he gives an explicit contradiction, and panegyrizes Leo strongly, comparing him to Daniel in Babylon and to Ezekiel among scorpions: "I have," he adds, "inveighed sharply against unchristian doctrines, and reproved my adversaries severely, not for rudeness but for impiety. So far from being ashamed of this, my purpose is to despise the judgment of men and to persevere in this vehemence of zeal after the example of Christ, who called his opponents a generation of vipers, blind hypocrites, and children of the devil. The multitude of flatterers has rendered the ears of our age so delicate that as soon as we find that our sentiments are not approved, we immediately exclaim that we are slandered; and, when we find ourselves unable to resist truth, we accuse our adversaries of detraction, impatience, and impudence. But let me ask, of what use would salt be if it were not pungent? or the point of a sword if it did not wound? Cursed is the man who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully."

After assuring the pontiff that he never harboured any malice against him, and that he would yield in any thing except the word of truth, which he would neither desert nor deny, he adds, in emphatic language,

"I have resisted and shall continue to resist what is called the court of Rome as long as the spirit of faith shall live in me. Neither your Holiness nor any one will deny that it is more corrupt than Babylon or Sodom, and sunk, as far as I understand,

in the most deplorable, desperate, and avowed impiety. I lament that under the sanction of your name and under pretext of the good of the church, the people of Christ should be made a laughing stock. Not that I attempt impossibilities, or expect that the endeavours of an individual can accomplish any thing in opposition to so many flatterers in that Babylon replete with confusion. But I consider myself as a debtor to my fellow men, for whose welfare it behoves me to be solicitous, so that those pests of Rome may destroy a smaller number and in a more humane manner. During many years nothing has been poured on the world but monsters both in body and mind, along with the worst examples of all worst actions. It is clear as day that the church of Rome, in former ages the most holy of churches, has now become a den of robbers, a scene of prostitution, the kingdom of sin, death, and hell, so that greater wickedness is not to be conceived even under Antichrist himself. Your Holiness sitteth like a lamb in the midst of wolves. What opposition is it possible that you, with your very learned and excellent cardinals, can make to such monsters?"

After this extraordinary description, Luther proceeded to relate his successive transactions with Cajetan, Eckius, and Miltitz. He entreated Leo to exert his authority in checking those flatterers who were the enemies of peace, and declared that the attempt to make him recant could not fail to increase the present confusion, for he would never consent that any one should lay down a law for the interpretation of the word of God. "On the two

conditions of not requiring me to recant, and of permitting me to interpret Scripture according to my own judgment, I am willing to do or to suffer any thing; I wish to provoke no one; neither do I wish to receive provocation; but if provocation be given me, since Christ is my master, I will not be silent."*

A letter expressed in this unexampled style could not fail to give the highest offence at Rome. That offence was little alleviated by Luther's distinction between the pope personally and those who surrounded him. For many ages no other language had been addressed to Rome but that of the most profound respect. Examples had occurred of individual ecclesiastics becoming refractory, but they were soon crushed by the powerful arm of the church. While the greatest princes were in the habit of observing the most respectful tone in their communications with the holy See, such licence on the part of an individual was not likely to be pardoned. Here, instead of a recantation, was a repetition and re-assertion of all that had already been declared most offensive. No wonder, therefore, that even the more moderate members of the Romish communion should look on this letter as a mockery of the pontiff. To an unprejudiced reader, it is chiefly remarkable as presenting a curious example of Luther's disregard of the customary rules of civility, and an evidence of the all-powerful influence of truth on his mind. This and this alone appears to have actuated him, and to have prompted him to

* Luth. L. ii. 1. et seq. Sleid. L. ii.

go to lengths which every consideration of interest, and even of safety, would have forbidden.

It is not a little extraordinary that Miltitz should have consented to transmit such a letter to Rome. On the accompanying treatise on "Christian Liberty," Luther remarks to the pope: "This small tract published under your name, as an omen of approaching harmony, I send you by way of specimen of the kind of study in which I would by preference employ my time, were I left in quiet by those profane flatterers of yours." The essay is divided into two parts, the first containing an illustration of the proposition, that the "Christian is the most free lord of all, subject to none;" and the second, "that he is the most ready to oblige all and subject to all." Nothing in the work has a relation to civil liberty; it is strictly a description of the privileges annexed, in Luther's opinion, to the station of a Christian, and of the practical effects which these privileges naturally and necessarily produce. It may be fit to mention that there is a remarkable coincidence between this little tract and the writings of the English puritanical divines.*

It is now time to relate the hostile measures which Luther's undaunted perseverance drew on him on the part of the church of Rome. It was matter of surprise that they should have been so long delayed, but Leo, though without just pretensions to the virtues ascribed to him, was not of a hasty temper, and was, as has been already mentioned, afraid of offending Frederick. At last, however, the solici-

* See Appendix Y.

tations for the adoption of a decisive step came from so many quarters, and Luther himself discovered such bold pertinacity in issuing one hostile publication after another, that Leo felt it necessary to alter his course. The Dominicans, and particularly Eckius, were active in accelerating this determination. The language of Eckius was wonderfully changed from the time when he invited Carolostad and Luther to that disputation which he expected, would be to him a scene of triumph. In writing to the former on that occasion, he had called Luther their "mutual friend;" but from the date of their vehement contest, he became his inveterate enemy. On Luther's part the animosity was equally strong, for in writing to a friend about Eckius, he exclaimed, "*Totus infidus est, et aperte rupit amicitiæ jura.*"*

Leo's first act was to appoint a congregation or assembly of cardinals, prelates, theologians, and canonists, to whom he remitted the whole management of Luther's affair. All were agreed on the necessity of directing the thunder of the Vatican against the new heresy; but the peculiar feelings of the different classes composing the assembly led to violent disputes in regard to the mode of proceeding. The theologians proposed to lose no time in denouncing Luther's doctrines, the impiety of which, they said, was glaring, and acknowledged to the world: the canonists, on the other hand, maintained that no notoriety of crime could deprive any one of the inherent right of being heard in his defence. After long debates it was agreed to divide the cause into

* Seckend. p. 93.

three parts; the doctrine, the books, and the person. The doctrine, it was determined, should be condemned, the books burned at a time to be fixed, and Luther summoned to appear after a suitable interval.

The composition of the bull gave rise to almost as much debate as the preliminary discussions. The members of the conclave rivalled each other in expressing abhorrence of the new doctrine and attachment to the holy See. Cajetan, though in bad health, made himself be carried into the consistory, and a bitter contention arose between Peter Accolti, cardinal of Ancona, and Laurent Pucci, cardinal datary,* about the honour of composing the manifesto against Luther. Each had prepared a draught, and was eager for the preference. Nothing less than the pontiff's authority could settle this competition, and the draught of Accolti, after undergoing several emendations, was preferred.

The bull at last came out on June 15, and set forth the papal pretensions in the loftiest tone. After affirming that the Imperial crown had been transferred by the papal See from the Greeks to the Germans, it claims a power not only of inflicting ecclesiastical punishments, but of depriving refractory persons of their property and civil privileges. The extravagant bulls of Pius II. and Julius II. which declared it heresy to appeal from the pope to a Council, are cited and made a ground for Luther's con-

* The datary is an high officer in the Roman chancery, through whose hands most of the appointments to the vacant benefices pass. This was the same Pucci who advised Leo to have recourse to the sale of Indulgences.

demnation. He is compared to Porphyry, the notorious enemy of Christianity, and is spoken of as the reviver of the Greek and Bohemian schisms. Forty-one heresies are selected from his works and condemned as "pernicious, scandalous, and pestilential." Luther, and all who may favour his opinions, are made the object of the most violent denunciations. They are incapacitated from performing any legal act, and declared guilty of high treason, infamous and unworthy of Christian burial. Luther is reproached for obstinately disregarding the admonitions and kindness of the pope; and that all remembrance of him may be obliterated from the society of the faithful, no one is to presume to read, preach, or publish his works. Such as are written are to be condemned to the flames, and such as he may hereafter write are to be received with the greatest suspicion. He is ordered to appear at Rome within sixty days to take his trial, and in case he should not obey the summons, the civil and ecclesiastical powers are commanded to seize him and his adherents and send them to Rome.

Here, at length, was the edict so long delayed from dread of the elector Frederick. The next point was to communicate it to that prince in the least offensive manner. With this view, the papal court determined to avail itself of the following circumstance, although apparently ill calculated to forward conciliation. One of the elector's agents, named Valentin Teutleben, being employed to transact some business for him at Rome, experienced a degree of reluctance on the part of the pope, which, as he wrote to his master, was to be ascribed to the circumstance

of his defending Luther. Frederick lost no time in replying to his agent, and denied "that he had ever undertaken the defence of Luther's opinions, Luther being prepared to defend them himself before equitable judges, and ready, if refuted from Scripture, to recant. Luther," he added, "had offered to leave Saxony, and would have done so before that time, had not Miltitz interceded that he might not be sent away, lest he should go where he could write and act with greater freedom. To attempt the forcible suppression of Luther's opinions, or to cut him off by the exertion of ecclesiastical power, would be imprudent and dangerous. Measures of that description were not fit in the improved state of public knowledge, nor was the strong hold which the Lutheran doctrine had taken in Germany, to be set aside by any thing else than sound argument."

This letter was communicated to the pope's minister, and gave occasion to an immediate address to Frederick. With the ordinary art of the court of Rome, their dispatch proceeded on the assumption that Frederick was, in his heart, an enemy to Luther. It was written in Leo's name, and was in substance as follows:

"I experience great satisfaction on learning that you have no connection with Luther, who is altogether impious. I have on former occasions uniformly entertained a high opinion of your virtue, and your conduct at present fully confirms it. Luther has been introduced into the world, not by Christ but by Satan, that he might revive the heresies of Wickliffe, Huss, and the Bohemians; and that, by false interpretations of Scripture, he might give occasion

of sinning to the simple. There is danger lest he should set continence at defiance, do away confession and penitence, favour the infidels by impure speeches, overturn the discipline of the church, and confound all things, sacred and profane. To such a pitch of pride and madness has Luther proceeded, that he despises the authority of Councils and of the holy See, preferring audaciously his own opinion to that of all others. In avoiding intercourse with such a pest, your Highness has acted a part worthy of your ancestors: and I give thanks to God for endowing you with such a disposition. Hitherto I have borne with Luther's forwardness and rashness, in the hope that he would return to his right mind. But now, seeing that he profiteth nothing by admonition and gentleness, I have been compelled to apply a violent remedy, lest he should corrupt many by the contagion of his example. Having therefore called a Council, and deeply weighed the question, it has been decreed by direction of the Holy Spirit; which on these occasions is never absent from the holy See,* to issue a bull in condemnation of Luther's heresy. Of that instrument a copy is herewith transmitted you."

The alarm which these hostile measures might have excited in Luther was opportunely counteracted by a very satisfactory testimony of attachment in a different quarter. Shortly before the publication of the bull, two German noblemen, Sylvester von

* "Convocato concilio, re multum agitatâ atque discussâ, tandem præeunte Spiritu Sancto, qui in hujusmodi causis huic sanctæ sedi nunquam abfuit," &c. Luth. ii. 50.

Schaumburg, and Francis Seckingen, came forward and wrote to him with offers of protection against all personal hazard. The letter of the former, in particular, deserves to be recorded:

"I understand," he said, "from several learned men, that your doctrine is founded on the Scriptures; and that although you have offered to submit it to the decision of a general Council and to the judgment of pious and well informed men, you have reason to apprehend personal danger. You propose therefore to seek a refuge among the Bohemians. That plan I would earnestly entreat you to abandon, lest the nature of the connection should have the consequence of rendering your cause suspected and odious. I offer you my own protection and that of one hundred noblemen in Franconia, with whom you can live in safety until your doctrine has undergone a deliberate investigation."*

So clear a testimony of approbation could not fail to be highly acceptable to Luther, and we accordingly find him writing to his friend Spalatin (July 10), that "his expulsion from Wittemberg would only make the state of things worse, for not only in Bohemia, but in the very heart of Germany, there were persons both able and willing to defend him. Nor was it doubtful that, under their protection, he could animadvert on the papacy with more severity than when he held the responsible office of a public teacher under the elector of Saxony. He had long been doubtful how far Frederick would find it expedient to continue his protection, a consideration

* Seckend. p. 111.

which, joined to a regard for the interests of the university of Wittemberg, had hitherto prevented him from going so far as he otherwise would. But now, were Frederick even obliged to withdraw his protection, the support of others would enable him to proceed in his career." "The die," he adds, "is cast, and I despise equally the fury and favour of Rome.—Never will I be reconciled or connected with them. Let them condemn and burn my books. —I, in my turn, so long as I can procure fire, will condemn and burn publickly the whole pontifical code." It appears that on the 23d of August he wrote to Rome, and ventured to use expressions of correspondent energy.*

Luther's friends, however, were less tranquil than himself. They prevailed on him to write to Spalatin, and to request him to use his interest with the elector to apply for an Imperial edict to prevent any one from condemning him unless it was previously shown that his tenets were inconsistent with Scripture. In this letter Luther, always more interested about his doctrine than his personal safety, complained, in an earnest and affecting manner, of the endless libels published against him, and expressed an ardent wish that preachers might be found to promulgate his real sentiments among the people.

Amidst all the alternations of fear and hope, Luther's active mind never gave way to sullen despondency or indolence. Application to study, as it had formed his chief pleasure in his early days, now constituted his best resource in a season of alarm.

* Seckend. p. 111.

His next production was a book of a miscellaneous character, which he addressed to the emperor Charles V. and to the nobility of the empire. It was directed, among other topics, to a reproof of the vices of the clergy, and to a recommendation of the study of Scripture, of divinity, and other subjects lately introduced into universities. He reprobated premature monastic vows, and animadverted on confession and on the disgraceful custom of begging, whether practised by monks or laymen. No one, he said, should be admitted into a monastery before the age of thirty. But the most serious part of the work consisted in an attack on the usurpations of the papacy, and in an insinuation that Rome was the seat of Antichrist.

Luther's next publication was his celebrated essay "De Captivitate Babylonicâ Ecclesiæ." He here examined into the nature and use of the sacraments, which, as is well known, are, according to the Romanists, seven in number. From this enumeration Luther dissented, and denied the name of sacrament to confirmation, holy orders, marriage, or extreme unction. But he continued to include penance in the list as well as baptism and the Lord's supper. In this, as in others of his writings, we have many vestiges of the impression made on his reasoning habits by the rules of the schoolmen. Instead of proceeding after the inductive method, to examine what the Scriptures had delivered respecting sacraments, he went on the plan of accommodating the passages in Scripture to a system previously adopted. This treatise was first published in Latin, but the general interest which it excited, made it soon be translated into German.

That progressive advance in knowledge which every studious man experiences in himself, is very clearly exhibited in the writings of Luther. No man was less scrupulous in publishing his latest opinions, however they might vary from former impressions. The repeated attacks of his opponents obliged him, he said, to grow wiser in self defence. In the preamble to the "Babylonish Captivity," he requests booksellers and others possessed of copies of what he had published two years before on Indulgences, to burn these copies, and to substitute for all that he had written, "*Indulgentiæ sunt adulatorum Romanorum nequitiæ.*" His publication on the nature of the papacy he wished to condemn to the same fate, desiring his readers to adopt in lieu of his reasonings the concise definition, "*Papatus est robusta venatio Romani Episcopi;*" for he was now certain that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon.*

An unfortunate misunderstanding took place at this time between the students and inhabitants of Wittemberg. Matters having proceeded to the length of a tumultuous assemblage, Luther was dissatisfied with the students and reproved them in very severe terms. The keenness of his censure gave them great offence; and even his friends at court, Spalatin and Amsdorff, (a canon of the collegiate church at Wittemberg,) were apprehensive that he had gone too far and might injure the university. The dread of hurting that seminary, by the freedom of his writings, is enumerated by Luther among the many disquietudes of the first three years of his

* Luth. ii. p. 63.

reforming career. Some time after this, Spalatin visited the university with a view, probably, of ascertaining both its condition and the intended proceedings of Luther after being apprized of the pope's bull. Spalatin's report of his visit has been preserved and is curious.

"A proportion of the students," he says, "are absent, but this is chiefly on account of a contagious disorder, and the university is still very numerously attended. I saw four hundred young men studying divinity under Luther; and no fewer than six hundred learning the languages under Melancthon. Luther continues in good spirits, and is writing against the papal bull, but declares that from respect to the elector he will express himself with moderation. I saw more than thirty letters addressed to Luther from princes, nobles, and doctors, in Suabia, Switzerland, and Pomerania, replete with expressions of piety and offers of consolation. So popular a preacher is he, that both the town church of Wittemberg and that of the monastery are too small to receive the crowd of his hearers."

We come now to the important business of publishing the bull in Germany. This part of the proceedings also was undertaken by Eckius, who hoped to make it a kind of finish to his laborious exertions. In corresponding with his friends, he had boasted much of his services at Rome, and of his repeated conferences with the pope, one of which lasted no less than five hours. He took to himself the merit of being the first to expose Luther's heresy in a proper light to the heads of the church, who till then had been very imperfectly acquainted with it.

So assiduous had he been in accelerating the proceedings about the bull, that by the 3d of May matters had been got ready for dispatch at the next assembly of cardinals. Yet on his return to Germany, he endeavoured to represent his journey as undertaken with reluctance. But Luther, who, by some means not known, had got possession of one of his letters from Rome, published it with notes, and showed that Eckius' grand object, in these extraordinary exertions, was no other than his own preferment in the church.*

Though the condemning bull was issued from the papal chamber on the 15th of June, it was not published in Germany till a considerable time afterwards. It appears to have reached Wittemberg in the beginning of October, for on the 13th of that month Luther wrote to Spalatin as follows:

"The pope's bull is come at last—Eckius brought it. We are writing many things to the pope concerning it. For my own part I hold it in contempt, and attack it as impious and false, like Eckius in every respect. Christ himself is evidently condemned by it, and no reason is assigned in it for summoning me to a recantation instead of a trial. They are full of fury, blindness, and madness. They neither comprehend nor reflect on consequences. Meantime I shall treat the pope's name with delicacy, and conduct myself as if I considered it a false and forged bull, although I believe it to be genuine. How anxiously do I wish that the emperor had the courage to prove himself a man,

* Ep. Eckii. ap. Luth. ii. 48. Seckend. p. 116.

and, in defence of Christ, attack those emissaries of Satan. For my part I do not regard my personal safety—let the will of the Lord be done. Nor do I know what course should be taken by the elector; perhaps it may appear to him more for my interest that he should dissemble for a season. The bull is held in as great contempt at Leipsic as Eckius himself.—Let us therefore be cautious lest he acquire consequence by our opposition, for, if left to himself, he must fall. I send you a copy of the bull that you may see what monsters they are at Rome. If these men are destined to rule us, neither the faith nor the church have the least security. I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to suffer hardship for the best of causes; but I am not worthy of such a trial. I am now much more at liberty than before, being fully persuaded that the pope is Antichrist, and that I have discovered the seat of Satan. —May God preserve his children from being deceived by the pope's impious pretensions. Erasmus informs me that the emperor's court is crowded with creatures who are tyrants and beggars, so that nothing satisfactory is to be expected from Charles. This need not surprise us. 'Put not thy trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no stay.'"

Eckius, having left Rome with copies of the bull, reached Leipsic, big with expectation of the reverence that would be paid to himself and to the pope's mandate. He found, however, that matters did not admit of the rapid progress which he wished. The Reformation had now taken a firm and a general hold. George, duke of Saxony, bigoted as he was,

found it necessary, from the dissatisfaction of the people, to delay the publication. At first, time was taken on the plea that the consent of the bishop of Mersburg must be previously obtained, and on application being made to that prelate, the publication was put off to the month of April in the following year. A letter, written by Miltitz on 2d October throws some light on these matters.

"I found Eckius at Leipsic, very clamorous and full of threats. I invited him to an entertainment and employed every means in my power to discover what he proposed to do. After he had *drunk freely*, he began to relate, in pompous terms, the commission he had received from Rome, and by what means he was to bring Luther to obedience. He informed me that he had caused the bull to be published in Misnia on 21st September, at Mersburg on the 25th, and at Brandenburg on the 29th. Eckius was in the habit of showing the bull with great pomp. He lodged with the public commissary: duke George ordered the senate to present him with a gilt cup, and a considerable sum of money. But notwithstanding the bull itself, and the pledge of public safety given to him, some young men of family affixed on 29th September, in no less than ten places, bills containing threats against him. Terrified by these, he took refuge in the monastery of St. Paul and refused to be seen. He complained to Cæsar Pflugius, and obtained a mandate from the rector of the university, enjoining the young men to be quiet, but all to no purpose. They have composed ballads upon him, which they sing through the streets; and send daily to the monastery intima-

tions of their hostility. More than one hundred and fifty of the Wittemberg students are here, who are very much incensed against him."—Miltitz afterwards added that Eckius had made a nocturnal escape to Friburg.*

Similar commotions took place in other parts of Germany, where attempts were made to publish the bull. The elector of Saxony declared it wholly unadvisable to attempt its promulgation in his dominions. The bishop of Bamberg availed himself of some informality as a pretext for declining to publish it in his diocese. At the university of Erfurt the students tore a copy of the bull and threw it into the river.† Nay, the rector publickly encouraged them to pull down any copy of the bull which they might see posted up, and to oppose Luther's enemies by all the means in their power.‡— The elector of Brandenburg and Albert of Mecklenburg passed through Wittemberg, in December, on their way to the imperial coronation, and held a very gracious conversation with Luther. The bishop of Brandenburg who accompanied them, actuated by very different feelings, was desirous of publishing the bull at Wittemberg, which was in his diocese, but durst not attempt it. The clergy alone, cemented as they were in interest with the Roman See, appeared friendly to the bull, but even among them there were many who reprobated its

* Seckend. p. 116.

† Scultet. Annal. Evang. 1520.

‡ Rector Academiæ Erfurtensis programmate publice affixo Academicos hortatur, ut si qui Bullam videant affixam, discerpant, et quo possunt modo, Lutheri hostibus se opponant. Scultet. Annal. Evang. 1520.

violent tone, and who, without venturing to speak in favour of Luther, cordially wished him success.

In several parts of the country, where the ascendancy of the Catholics was too decided to admit of opposition, there were not wanting proofs of a favourable disposition towards the new doctrine. At Mentz the populace received the bull with indignation, and the persons employed to put the books in the fire, did it at the hazard of their lives. Even at Louvain, considerable opposition was experienced, and, though the influence of the heads of the university was such as to enable them to proceed with the burning of Luther's books, a party among the students and inhabitants insisted on committing, at the same time, to the flames a number of books of an opposite description. In Italy also, at Venice and Bologna, though no direct opposition was offered, the partizans of Luther had become numerous. In the Palatinate the new doctrine was by this time planted, though not publickly acknowledged till three years after.

The first regular step taken by Luther against the bull was a protest recorded before a notary and witnesses, and an appeal from the pope to a general Council. An appeal of the same nature had been entered by him a twelve-month before, but the respectful manner in which he then spoke of Leo was now exchanged for the most embittered expressions. *Leo X. in impia sua tyrannide induratus perseverat —Iniquus, temerarius, tyrannicus judex—Hereticus et Apostata—Antichristus, blasphemus, superbus contemptor sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dei.**

* Luth. ii. 50.

The universities of Cologne and Louvain having openly burned Luther's books, and a similar example having been given at Rome, the Reformer now determined to retaliate. He caused public notice to be given at Wittemberg, that he purposed burning the antichristian decretals on Monday, 10th Dec. So novel a scene excited great interest, and the concourse accordingly was immense. The people assembled at nine o'clock in the morning, and proceeded, in regular divisions, to the spot in the neighbourhood where the ceremony was to be performed. Having there partaken of a slight repast, an eminent member of the university erected a kind of funeral pile and set it on fire: after which Luther took Gratian's Abridgement of the Canon Law; the letters commonly called decretals of the pontiffs; the Clementines and Extravagants, and, last of all, the bull of Leo X. All these he threw into the fire, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Because yĕ have troubled the holy of the Lord, therefore let eternal fire trouble you." Having remained to witness their consumption, he returned into the city, accompanied by the same multitude, without the occurrence of the slightest disorder.*

So extraordinary a step, however cordially received by his countrymen, seemed to call for a formal justification in the eyes of others. With that view Luther published a set of reasons, which instead of proving a palliation of the act, had the effect, like his former vindications, of aggravating his offence. He warned the public not to be misled

* See Appendix Z.

by high sounding titles, nor by declamations about pontifical dignity, but to proceed to a rigid examination of what was actually taught in those books. This, he said, was the true way to make them aware of their poisonous and abominable doctrine. He then enumerated thirty specific articles, as examples of the errors and usurpations of the papacy. 1. The canon law, he said, went beyond all bounds. Among other things it contained the extraordinary doctrine that "the pope is God upon earth, superior to all belonging to heaven or earth, whether spiritual or temporal. All things belong to the pope, and to him no one dares say, What doest thou?"* Towards the conclusion of the treatise Luther places in a very strong light the overbearing conduct of the popes towards all who ventured to dissent from them. "Never have the popes vanquished, either by Scripture or argument, any one who has spoken or written against them.—Their alternative has always been to excommunicate, burn, or put them to death, through the medium of kings, princes, and others devoted to the papacy."

Luther's hostility to the canon law deserves particular attention. He was by this time aware, that without the abolition of this ponderous and ill digested code, the projected Reformation in religion would confer only a limited benefit on mankind. It is deeply to be lamented that he should have been less successful in the one than in the other. I can-

* Papa est Deus in terris, superior omnibus cœlestibus, terrenis, spiritualibus et secularibus. Et omnia papæ sunt propria, cui nemo audeat dicere, Quid facis? Luth. ii. 122.

not more clearly explain the causes of his failure than by transcribing the words of his countryman, the learned and accurate Boehmer, a well known professor of law:

"On the introduction into Germany of enlightened views in religion, the canon law would probably have been annihilated had it not been for the interposition of the lawyers. Luther, even before shaking off the papal yoke, had detected the imperfection, fraud, and impiety of this law. In his treatise addressed to the emperor and the nobility, he expressed a wish that the ancient laws of Germany should be restored, a measure which, had it been effected, would have placed our affairs, both public and private, on a much surer foundation. It would have led to greater uniformity in our ecclesiastical law, to the cessation of tedious law-suits, and to the re-introduction of that German candour and honesty, which are so conspicuous in the institutes of our ancestors. But Luther's boldness in burning the canon law gave deadly offence to the lawyers. Henning Goeden, and Jerome Schurff were at that time pleaders of great reputation at Wittemberg, and believed, or professed to believe, that the abolition of the canon law would endanger the safety of the state. The fact was, that their own interest and convenience were at stake, the canon law forming the rule of the whole mode of procedure in law-suits. Hence arose the interference of these men, who, in an evil hour, proved the cause of preventing the abolition of the canon law, and the so much desired reform of ecclesiastical and civil law. The fact is, that from their igno-

rance of the law of nature and moral philosophy, the lawyers were ill qualified to supply the want of the regulations established by a long course of precedents. Unaccustomed to exercise their reasoning and inventive powers, the blank occasioned by the absence of the canon law presented to their imaginations an irremediable chasm. Moreover, the study of the canon law had long been an object of great ambition, and superiority in the knowledge of it formed one of the leading features of professional distinction."

We have already adverted to the favourable disposition of Erasmus towards Luther and his writings. On the condemnation of Luther's doctrine by the subservient universities of Louvain and Cologne, Erasmus was prompted to address to Spalatin a set of axioms on the Lutheran cause. He had scarcely put them out of his hands, when, with his usual timidity, he begged that they might be returned to him lest they might do him an injury with the pope's nuncio.* These axioms however have been preserved, and the sentiments of so eminent a scholar deserve to be noticed. In the passage referring to the act of the two universities, he says, "The motive of the proceeding is bad; it is a love of tyrannic rule, and a wish to discourage literary effort. Out of so many universities, two only have condemned Luther; and they have done nothing more than publish a sentence, for they have not confuted him, nor do they agree among themselves."† The court of Rome, how-

* Seckend. p. 126.

† Fons rei malus est, odium bonarum literarum, et affectatio

ever, thought proper to lay great stress on the sanction of these public bodies. Honourable mention of it was made in the bull, and the universities were called "*agri dominici piissimæ, religiosissimæ cultrices.*"

In the course of this year, the elector Frederick being at Cologne, an interview took place between him and Erasmus. It was on this occasion that Erasmus made the ludicrous remark, that Luther had offended in two capital points—"He had touched the pope's supremacy and the bellies of the monks."

Luther, according to his usual practice, replied with great spirit to the condemning sentence of the universities of Cologne and Louvain.* A new antagonist soon after appeared in a Franciscan monk at Leipsic named Augustine. To him also Luther gave a speedy reply;† and in fact, he was indebted to the writings of opponents for a considerable share of the publicity of his cause. Even Cajetan now came forward and displayed his whole scholastic skill in asserting the divine origin and the infallibility of the pope.‡ On the other hand there appeared on the side of Luther, and in support of the cause of free inquiry, an essay from the pen of

tyrannidis. Duæ duntaxat universitates condemnarunt Lutherum ex tam innumeris. Et condemnarunt tantum, non convicerunt; nec hæ consentiunt. Axiom. Erasm. pro. Caus. Luth.

* Luth. ii. 33. et seq. See in p. 115 of that vol. a short account of what took place at Cologne.

† Seckend. p. 103.

‡ The title of his book is "Card. Cajetani, de Divina Institutione Pontificatus." It was printed at Cologne, in June 1520. Seckend. p. 107.

Ulrich Hutten, a young man of fortune and literary talents. He published Leo's bull and annexed to it short scholia,* exposing in very bold language the weakness of the papal arguments and the presumptuous encroachments of that court.

This auxiliary publication was soon followed by one from Luther, who was too confident of his cause to remain inactive. The title of this address to the public bore the stamp of his usual boldness—it was an "Answer to the execrable bull of Antichrist." In this, and in another treatise which speedily came forth, he passed in review the whole of the forty-one propositions enumerated by Leo. No longer satisfied with offering these propositions as subjects for disputation, he affirmed them to be incontrovertibly true. So highly was this work esteemed at the court of Saxony, that Spalatin translated it from the Latin into German.

The pope now thought the time had come to make a direct and pointed application to the elector Frederick, on the subject of Luther. With that view he sent, in the end of October, two nuncios, Jerome Aleander and Marinus Caracciolus, to Frederick, who was then at Cologne. Both were distinguished dignitaries of the church and members of the Conclave. They enlarged on the danger to which Germany was exposed by Luther's execrable writings, and, after requesting that his books should be burned and himself either imprisoned or sent to Rome, Aleander proceeded to state that the emperor, and all the other princes who had

* Bossuet is in a mistake when he ascribes those notes to Luther. Hist. des Variat. Liv. i. Sect. 26.

been applied to, had consented to the pope's demand. The investigation of Luther's cause had, he added, been committed by the pontiff to him and Eckius. Urgent as this application was, the nuncios proved unable to extract an explicit answer from the wary Frederick. He replied in general terms, that it was a matter of great moment and required mature deliberation. On the 4th Nov. he returned an answer by his ministers, but took care to adhere to the same general language as before. He declared "that the request was very unexpected on his part, and that, while at a distance from home, he had heard that Eckius, contrary to the tenor of the pontifical decree, had wished to injure not only Luther but other learned men in his dominions, an assumption of power, on the part of an unauthorised individual, which could not but be extremely offensive to him. Having been absent, he could not say with certainty what had been done by Luther and others after receiving the pope's bull; but it might happen that in consequence of the provocation given to him, there was a general disposition to approve of his proceedings." Finally, he requested "that learned and good men should converse in a friendly manner on the whole business, and that Luther should be accounted entitled to protection and have an opportunity to plead his cause."

CHAPTER VII.

YEAR 1521.

THE adherents of the court of Rome were much disappointed at the inefficient operation of the bull against Luther; and the conduct of that court in this business has been subjected to those charges of impolicy which are generally applied to unsuccessful counsels. It has been said by many persons, that the bull was too long delayed; by others, that its language was too violent and arbitrary. An eminent historian,* adverting to these charges, is of opinion that the conduct of the holy See on this occasion "bore few marks of its wonted sagacity." Were we, however, to extend our inquiries, we might find that its reputation for sagacity has been a good deal overrated. On analysing the history of former ages, we might discover that many measures accounted, by Dr. Robertson and others, "models of political wisdom," were nothing more than a close and unblushing application of those deceptions which men more artful than their neighbours have known how to apply in all ages. It was chiefly by a comparison with the other courts of Europe, that the policy of the Romish councils was estimated. Now we can hardly conceive any thing

* Dr. Robertson, Charles V. 8vo. edition, vol. ii. p. 98.

less skilful, or more capricious, than the measures of the sovereigns of Europe in these ages. After the general improvement consequent on the revival of learning, it became a matter of great difficulty to prevent the occurrence of a schism similar to that which Luther produced. The only effectual way to obviate a revolution of that nature was, to desist sincerely and speedily from the practice of the gross frauds devised for a rude state of society. Clear and unquestionable as this appears, it would have formed an act of self-denial very seldom exemplified in the conduct of governments. Frauds are generally too lucrative, and the retention of arbitrary power too gratifying to our pride, to be relinquished otherwise than from necessity. History is replete with examples of calamities originating in a blind pertinacity of this nature. And we need go no farther than the events of our own day to find a dreadful revolution take its rise from the refusal of the higher orders to bear an equal share in the burden of taxation.

If we apply this reasoning to the conduct of the court of Rome, we shall not find that discrepancy in her policy at the æra of the Reformation and former ages, which many persons have imagined. Her strength lay in diplomatic intrigue, and the revolution commenced by Luther had its origin in a cause which no dexterity of that kind could remove or overcome.

The interest now generally excited by Luther's writings showed that his doctrines had taken a powerful hold on the public mind. Though they had not received the avowed protection of any prince, the impression made on many leading indi-

viduals in Germany seemed indicative of an approaching separation from the church of Rome. Meanwhile many pacific and well intentioned persons, lamenting the vehemence of mutual recrimination, and judging of the rest of mankind by themselves, were anxious to accomplish an amicable accommodation. To such persons it occurred that Luther's objection to the partiality of the judges hitherto named would be obviated by the appointment of exalted individuals, such as the emperor Charles, Henry VIII. of England, and the king of Hungary. But this expectation was obviously formed on no accurate estimate of the respective characters of these sovereigns. The magnitude of Charles's empire rendered him an object of jealousy to all cotemporary princes, and to none more than the Roman pontiff. The possessions of Charles in Italy surrounded in a manner the ecclesiastical territory, and obliged the pope to cultivate for self-preservation a friendly connection with Francis I. Hence those interruptions to cordiality between Charles and the See of Rome which afforded opportunity to the Reformation to expand itself in Germany. Nothing indeed could be more embarrassing than the situation of the pope in regard to the rival sovereigns, Charles and Francis. To be on friendly terms with the one necessarily implied hostility with the other. But the pope was in no condition to brave the enmity of either; for while Charles was so near and formidable a neighbour, Francis had a strong claim on attention, as well from the extent of his political power, as from the danger of his embracing the liberal views of the Reformers. This danger, says a protestant author, was

by no means inconsiderable. *Erat enim ille rex non qualis eum sunt consecuti postea; sed acerrimus rerum estimator, judicii ad dignoscendum rerum non parvi, eruditorum fautor, neque per se a nobis alienus.**

Another difficulty in negotiating with the imperial court consisted in the rivalship and even dissension which existed among the emperor's counsellors. The Spaniards and Flemings were extremely jealous of each other, and the court of Rome found it necessary to cultivate both. Charles had hardly passed his twentieth year, and was as yet only beginning to acquire that sagacity which marked his future conduct. That his course of proceeding in regard to Luther's cause was at first very problematical, appears to be beyond dispute. He, in common with many leading men in Germany, early discovered an inclination rather to favour a reform in the church, than to support the pretensions of the pontiff. So general was the impression made by the corruptions of the church, that George, duke of Saxony, who, as we have already seen, was a zealous papist, presented at this time twelve grievances on the subject of indulgences and the conduct of the clergy. All these circumstances concur to show the general demand for a reform; and there can be little doubt that had the decision of the question been left to the people, the cause of liberality would have been as successful in France, Austria, and even in Italy, as in Saxony and in England. But these fair prospects were destined to be clouded by the intrigues of the court of

* Beza, Vita Calvini.

Rome, and by the unfortunate connection existing between the church and the principal governments of Europe. In these days of limited education, the chief ministers in cabinets were ecclesiastics. Attachment to their own Order was, of course, a predominant feeling with them, and the church of Rome well knew how to make the impatience of princes to grasp a present object, subservient to the attainment of lasting advantage to herself.

The term granted to Luther having expired, a new bull made its appearance on the third of January, 1521, confirming the preceding in all its extent, with the serious addition of Luther's excommunication. But this edict made very little impression, and its reception tended only to show the diminished efficacy of papal fulminations, against the progress of opinion.

Meanwhile another attempt at reconciliation took place between two persons in the employment respectively of Charles and Frederick; Gregory Pontanus, the elector's chancellor, and John Glassio, a Franciscan and father confessor to the emperor. Glassio was a man of address, and began by bestowing the highest praises on Luther's genius, and expressing great anxiety on the part of the emperor to be instrumental in reconciling to the church so valuable a member. He next proceeded to express his disappointment at the treatise termed the "Babylonish captivity," which, in his opinion, was infinitely inferior to Luther's other publications. To refute it, he added, would be no difficult matter, but his proposition was that Luther should disavow this treatise; on which the pope would recall the

bull and excommunication, appointing at the same time men of learning and impartiality to try Luther's cause in Germany. From the various interviews which followed, it is apparent that the church of Rome had been sorely wounded by the publication of that treatise. Glassio confessed that all parties were agreed on the necessity of a reform to a certain extent; but, after all his efforts, this negotiation was destined to experience the fate of the others. It was regarded on the part of Luther's friends as little else than an attempt to obtain the disavowal of the obnoxious treatise.

The time had now arrived for holding Charles's first Diet. The city of Nuremberg being infested with the plague, the place of meeting was fixed at Worms. Thither Frederick repaired in company with Charles, and probably communicated with him at some length on the subject of Luther. Charles had previously requested Frederick to bring Luther along with him to the Diet, where he promised that he should be well treated. With this application, however, the cautious elector declined to comply. He apprehended that Luther's appearance before that assembly would be productive of very serious discussion, and he determined accordingly to delay it as long as possible.

The Diet assembled in January and the agents of the court of Rome were indefatigable in their efforts to get a summons for Luther speedily issued. Frederick, apprized of all their machinations, gave Luther information, through the medium of Spalatin, of what was likely to happen, and caused him to be asked what course he would pursue, in

the event of his being summoned by the emperor to appear before the Diet, a step which, in consequence of the urgency of the pope's agents, he thought very probable. Luther's answer was conveyed in a letter to Spalatin and was nearly as follows:

"I shall certainly not hesitate to come, for I shall regard the emperor's summons as proceeding from God. If violence be offered to my person an event not unlikely, I shall commend my cause to that God who delivered the three children from the fiery furnace. Should it not seem meet to God to preserve me, of what moment is my life compared with the life and sufferings of Christ? It is not for me," he adds, "to determine whether the danger to the Gospel be greater or less by my life or death. The truth of God is a rock of offence placed for the falling and rising of many in Israel. My chief duty is to pray that Charles may not stain his administration, at the outset, with my blood or his own. Let me rather die by the hands of the Romanists, lest he and all connected with him should be involved in sorrow by a guilty participation. You well remember what befell the emperor Sigismund—after the murder of Huss nothing succeeded with him. He died without male offspring, and Ladislaus, his grandson, followed him soon to the grave, so that his name became extinct in a single generation. His wife Barbara was a disgrace to the name of queen. But if it be determined that I am to be delivered, not only to the pope but to the gentiles, let the Lord's will be done. I have told you my mind fully.

Your conjectures in regard to me are correct in every thing except as to the chance of my flight or recantation. I am unwilling to fly, but much more unwilling to recant. May the Lord Jesus send me support, for I can do neither without putting in hazard the piety and salvation of many persons."

The elector's outward behaviour was extremely cautious; but, from a variety of circumstances, there can be no doubt that he had undertaken the protection of Luther in good earnest. Charles, in the mean time, was induced to put his signature to several precipitate and inconsistent acts. He issued in January an order for summoning Luther before the Diet, but Frederick declining to forward it, the emperor thought proper to recall it. Frederick, apprehensive of personal danger to Luther, was determined that he should not undertake to come so far without a solemn pledge of protection. On the 25th January, Luther, we find, wrote to the elector as follows: "As to myself I am most ready to appear at the imperial Diet at Worms, before equitable, learned, and good judges, provided I obtain a sufficient security and a safe conduct both for going and returning. By God's help I shall make it appear, to the conviction of all, that I have not been actuated by wilfulness, or by selfish views, but that whatever I have taught or written has proceeded from my conscience, from an ardour for the salvation of the catholic church, and for the extirpation of the most dangerous abuses and superstitions."

The next step which took place in the contradictory proceedings of Charles, was a letter, dated

sixth March, summoning Luther to appear at Worms within twenty-one days. The letter is very short, and, while expressed in terms sufficiently attentive to Luther, it commands him peremptorily to appear before the Diet, and promises him protection in all the districts through which it was necessary for him to pass on his journey.* A private injunction was added, it has been said, against his preaching by the way. In addition to the guarantee of the emperor, the princes, through whose territories Luther had to travel, pledged themselves respectively for his safety. Mean time the pope's agents, impatient to draw down a censure on Luther, procured an edict from Charles, dated next day, seventh March, directing that his books should be submitted to the inspection of the magistrates. But the college of the empire interfered, and made a respectful remonstrance against taking any such measure until Luther should be heard. This step, on the part of the college, if not indicative of a disposition to support Luther, showed at least that his cause had gained too much ground to be the object of premature condemnation.

Spalatin, having apprized Luther of the resolution adopted by the emperor, added to the notice a communication that the object of his summons was the recantation of several of his opinions. Luther replied on the 19th March, assuring Spalatin that he would not recant: "I shall tell the emperor

* The address of the letter was "Carolus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, semper augustus, &c. Honorabili nostro Dilecto devoto Doctori Martino Luthero, Augustiniani ordinis." Luth. ii. 163. Sleid. L. iii.

Charles," he said, "that I am determined not to come; because it is to a recantation that he has summoned me. If that be all that is wanted, I might as well be asked to do it where I am. If, by this summoning, their intention is to put me to death, and, from the answer I am determined to give, to declare me a rebel, in that case I am willing to make my appearance. I will not fly nor forsake the word in the field of battle. My enemies, I am persuaded, will never rest until they have put me to death."

Various reasons contributed to induce Luther to adopt an affirmative determination in regard to the question of going to Worms. The *eclat* given to his cause by appearing before the emperor and the assembled princes of Germany, and the assurance that his friends were sufficiently numerous and powerful to prevent his being condemned unheard, were conclusive arguments to a mind wholly engrossed with the promulgation of a new doctrine. Other circumstances co-operated indirectly to stimulate Luther to come forward in vindication of his doctrine. The Bohemians had begun to receive his publications favourably, and to translate several of them.* Henry, brother of the bigotted George, duke of Saxony, seemed to discover an attachment to the Lutheran cause. And it may deserve to be mentioned, as an indication of the diffusion of zealous efforts against the papacy, that an artist of some eminence, Lucas Cranachius, joined himself to Luther, and engraved on wood delineations of the history of Christ and Antichrist. To these the Reformer fur-

* Seckend. p. 148.

nished inscriptions, and to the prints of Antichrist he had no scruple in subjoining extracts from the papal decretals, sufficiently explicit to point out the connection which he wished to establish between the two.

Frederick conducted himself in this critical juncture with his wonted judgment. He assumed more than his usual appearance of reserve, that he might not be suspected of partiality to Luther. To prevent any molestation to the emperor's messenger on the part of the people, he gave orders to the provost and senate of Wittemberg, that a guard should, if necessary, be given him. On Luther's agreeing to obey the summons, the senate provided him with a covered waggon, the only mode of conveyance then in general use in Germany. He was accompanied by his friends Iodocus,* Amsdorff, and Sauvenius, a native of Denmark. He took with him likewise, as his counsel, Jerome Schurff, who has been already mentioned as an eminent lawyer. Eager to circulate his opinions, Luther took an opportunity of preaching at Erfurt on the nature of justification and the vices of the clergy. He exercised his talents in the same way at Issenach, so that the admonition against preaching by the road, if given at all, had not been acceded to by him. Wherever he arrived, he had the gratification of receiving marks of distinguished attention. The inhabitants of Erfurt, on hearing of his ap-

* This was a very different person from Luther's logical preceptor of the same name. He was younger than Luther, and continued, as we shall find in the sequel, a steady follower and friend of the Reformer.

proach, came out in a body to receive him. But, by this time the fatigue of the journey, joined to anxiety of mind, had produced a considerable degree of illness. On arriving at Frankfort he wrote to Spalatin, "I have been indisposed ever since I left Issenach, nor am I yet recovered. The mandate of Charles was issued, I understand, to affright me, but Christ is alive and I shall enter Worms in spite of the gates of hell and the powers of the air—I am determined to meet Satan, and to strike him with terror."—Luther's friends were not equally courageous. They were apprized of the emperor's hostile disposition, and began to look on the Reformer as a devoted victim. On reaching Oppenheim, he found letters from several friends and one from Spalatin himself, dissuading him from proceeding to Worms. It was then that he made the homely but resolute declaration, "To Worms I will go, were there as many devils there, as tiles on the houses." His boldness on this occasion appeared surprising at a future period to himself: For a short time before his death, in speaking of the circumstance to his friends at Eisleben, he added, "Thus you perceive that God can render a man undaunted; I know not whether I should now have the courage to do so much."

When drawing towards the close of his journey, Luther received an invitation from Glassio, the emperor's confessor, to meet him at the residence of one of Luther's friends, at some distance from the road. But Luther, whether suspicious of Glassio, or, as is more likely, afraid of exceeding the limited term of twenty-one days, replied, "that he

was determined to go whither he had been ordered by the emperor." Accordingly he reached Worms on the 16th April, attired in his friar's cowl, seated in an open chariot and preceded by the emperor's herald on horseback in his official dress. Several of the Saxon nobles and others having come out to meet him, the whole formed a kind of procession and entered the city at ten in the forenoon. Before Luther reached the inn appointed for his residence, above two thousand persons were assembled; and, in the course of the day, many of the men of rank connected with the Diet called to have a sight of a stranger of so great celebrity.

Next day, 17 April, notice was sent from the emperor to Luther that his presence was required at the Diet in the afternoon. When the hour (four o'clock) came, the crowd was so great that the only access to the place of audience was through gardens and private houses. Even the roofs are said to have been covered with spectators. An intimation having been privately given to Luther not to speak except in reply, the proceedings commenced on the part of one John Eckius, *Official*,* as it is termed, of the archbishop of Treves, and equally hostile to Luther as his namesake, the disputant. This orator, in an audible voice, first in Latin and next in German, proposed two questions: "Whether Luther avowed himself the author of the books bearing his name?" to a collection of which he

* The "Official" was an officer to whom an ecclesiastial prince, possessing, like the archbishop of Treves, extensive political power, was in the habit of delegating the detail of his spiritual jurisdiction.

then pointed; and "Whether he was disposed to retract or persist in their contents?" Schurff, Luther's counsel, having required that the titles of the books should be read, they proved to be his commentaries on the psalms and the Lord's prayer, his treatise on good works, along with other pieces which were not controversial. Luther instantly acknowledged himself the author of these works, but in regard to the second question, he asked, no doubt by the suggestion of his counsel, that "time might be given him to consider his answer." One day was accordingly granted, accompanied, however, with an intimation that a written answer would not be received. The proceedings were then adjourned, and several of the by-standers called aloud to Luther in an encouraging tone, not to be afraid of those who could kill only the body.

If Luther's opponents were led, by his requiring time, to entertain any hope of hesitation on his part, they were speedily undeceived. On entering the Diet next day, Eckius recapitulated with great form, the proceedings of the day before, and asked Luther once more whether he retracted or persisted. Luther delivered an answer at great length, first in German and afterwards in Latin. Notwithstanding the awe of the assembly and the excessive heat from the great numbers present, he spoke in a tone of clearness and confidence. He began by enlarging on the distinct object and tendency of his several publications. Some of them referred, he said, to the doctrines, others to the duties of Christianity, and were such as no person in the sober exercise of reason could find fault with. Adverting next to

that part of his writings which regarded the papacy," so far from disguising his sentiments, he expatiated on the baseness of which he would be guilty, were he to disavow what had been prompted by the perusal of the Scriptures and by the notorious corruption of the church. Repeating the words of our Saviour when before Annas, he said "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" He intreated that any one present, of whatever station, would undertake to point out his errors, in which case he promised, as he had frequently done before, to recant and to be the first to throw his own books into the fire. Eckius, who had discovered symptoms of impatience during the delivery of the defence, declared, as soon as it was ended, that Luther had not answered to the point, and ought not to express doubts about things that had been already defined and condemned by so many councils. Then assuming a peremptory tone, he demanded a categorical answer whether he recanted or not? Luther, addressing himself to the Diet, said, since a positive answer is required of me, "I have only to add, that unless I shall be convinced by Scripture, (for I can put no credit in the pope or in councils, as it is evident they have erred frequently and have even contradicted each other,) I say, unless my conscience be convinced by the word of God, I neither can nor will recant, since it is unworthy of an honest man to act contrary to his conviction—here I stand, it is impossible for me to act otherwise—so help me God." Eckius still affirmed that Luther had not answered the question, and, after some general conversation, informed Luther that the

emperor was disposed to make a distinction between his different works, but still insisted on his saying whether he defended every thing in his writings, or what part of them he would recant? Luther then asked whether the emperor could mean to compell him to recant against his conscience and even without any means being used to convince him? Having repeated his assertion, that councils had often erred, and Eckius having said that he could not prove any error on the part of a council, Luther, nowise reluctant to tread on controversial ground, affirmed his readiness to enter into proof of what he had declared. The discussion was protracted to a late hour and some of the emperor's Spanish counsellors, bigottedly attached to the pope, could not withold their murmurs at Luther on his leaving the Diet.

The emperor being, in a great measure, unacquainted with the mode of conducting the affairs of Germany, and impatient at the continuance of the controvery, allowed himself to be persuaded that the fittest course would be to excommunicate Luther at once. This took place accordingly next day, 19th April, but being done without the assent of the princes, the efficacy of the decree was very different from what would have attended a concurrent resolution of the Diet. Many persons of distinction continued to visit Luther, and the multitude gave evident signs of their interest in his cause. They surrounded his lodging in crowds, and appeared as if they could not be satisfied with beholding him. His opponents, apprehensive of the odium attached to prematurе condemnation, procured from the emperor a suspension, during three days, of the

execution of the sentence, an interval which the archbishop of Treves proposed to occupy in an attempt to prevail on Luther to retract his opinions, or, at least, to promise silence for the future. The archbishop had long been desirous of a conference with Luther. It was he who, two years before, had urged a meeting of this kind on the arrival of Miltitz in Saxony.* He appears to have entertained a hope that by mixing temperance with firmness in the treatment of Luther, he might be prevailed on to stop short in his career. Such a course could hardly have failed at the outset, but the case was now much altered by the mutual and repeated effusions of animosity.

Luther, being invited to a conference with the archbishop and the other princes, consented to appear before them. They met to receive him on the 24th without the formality of constituting themselves into a council. Luther having repaired to the inn where the primate lodged, was addressed in very conciliatory terms by the chancellor of Baden, who acted on the present occasion as speaker to the princes. That officer, after professing a dislike to controversy, vindicated the consistency of general councils, and expatiated on the great commotions to be apprehended from Luther's books, in particular from the work on "Christian liberty." He mixed his censure, however, with a commendation of several of his writings, and enlarged principally on the hazard to be apprehended to the public tranquillity. The chancellor having

* See p. 104.

spoken in the name of the princes of the empire, Luther, in his reply, thanked these illustrious persons for condescending to admonish him. He repeated his charge against the councils, particularly the council of Constance for their treatment of Huss, and reiterated the wish which he had already so frequently expressed, that all his doctrines should be examined and decided by Scripture. Having thus spoken, he retired to give the princes time to deliberate. On being called in again, the chancellor of Baden advised him to submit his works to the judgment of the emperor. Luther professed all due respect for Charles, and declared that instead of shunning, he courted examination, but no consideration could induce him to relinquish what the Scripture taught. He concluded by requesting them to intercede with the emperor and prevail on him to desist from compelling him to act contrary to his conviction. When he had concluded, the elector of Brandenburg, to bring the matter to a point, asked him Whether he had said that he was determined not to yield unless convinced by Scripture? to which he immediately replied "certainly." He then retired, and the princes, thinking any farther attempt vain, broke up their meeting and repaired to the Diet.

The archbishop of Treves, however, was determined to make one effort more, and, on his invitation, Luther, accompanied by Schurff and Amsdorff, repaired to a fresh conference at the archbishop's. Here, along with that prelate, they met Eckius and Cochlæus, another ardent abetter of the papal cause. These zealous advocates employed *

variety of arguments, as well to shake Luther in his creed, as to prevail on him to abstain from writing or teaching. But Luther in this, and in every subsequent conference, scorned the idea of recantation, and adhered to his former text of reference to Scripture, and to Scripture alone. The archbishop having held a final conversation with him, asked him, what remedy could be adopted by way of compromise? to which Luther replied in the words of Gamaliel, (Acts v.) "If this work be of men it will come to nought; but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." He persisted that the council of Constance had decided contrary to Scripture, and repeated that he would rather lose his life than renounce what he considered the word of God. On his saying this, the archbishop desisted from farther urgency, dismissed him politely and promised him a safe conduct. Accordingly, on the same day, Eckius and the emperor's secretary delivered him a safe conduct for twenty-one days, with an intimation that he might depart. To this they added, in a less gracious tone, that "since after so many admonitions, he was still averse to cherish a mutual good understanding or unity, Charles, as the defender of the Catholic faith, was determined to do his duty." They delivered to him also a prohibition as to preaching or haranguing the people on his road home. Luther's reply was "As it pleased God, so it is come to pass. I thank the emperor and the princes of the empire for the gracious audience and the safe conduct they have given me. My wish is, for nothing but a reformation by means of the Scripture. In other respects I am

ready to suffer any thing for the emperor or the empire; life or death, good or evil report—reserving nothing to myself but the freedom of confessing and bearing witness of the word of God." Next day, 26th April, having taken a cordial leave of his friends and patrons, he left Worms and proceeded on his return, accompanied by the emperor's herald and the persons who had come with him from Wittemberg.

Though the elector of Saxony avoided any open protection of Luther, his solicitude for him is evinced by a variety of documents which are still in existence. So early as 16th January he had written to his brother John that he had information of daily consultations, the main object of which was to induce the emperor to declare Luther an outlaw. On 30th January he repeated a communication to the same effect. Again, on 25th March, after complaining of the great fatigue which he endured in consequence of the accumulation of business at the Diet, he added, "Luther is summoned to appear at Worms. I know not whether he will think it advisable to come. Every thing goes on slowly, nor can I promise much good." On 23d April, the day of Luther's first audience, Frederick wrote to his brother, "If it were at all in my power, I should be very ready to assist Luther in whatever I could lawfully do. They seem intent on banishing him. You would be surprised were I to relate how much I am harassed. Whoever has been thought to favour him in any respect, is accounted a heretic."

On Luther's arrival at Friedberg, on his return,

he addressed letters, dated 28th April, to the emperor and the princes, urging the propriety of appointing proper judges to examine his books. He was attentively received at most places, and, at the earnest request of the abbot of Heisfeld, a Benedictine and prince of the empire, he ventured to preach notwithstanding the imperial interdict. At Friedberg the emperor's herald took his leave and returned to Worms, after which Luther went out of the ordinary road to visit his relations. It was then that an event took place which, had it not come from a friendly quarter, would have been calculated to plunge his friends in despair. The elector of Saxony, apprehensive from the spirit of the abettors of the papacy, of an attempt on Luther's person, determined to put him out of danger for a season. The measure had probably received Luther's previous assent; but be this as it may, the Reformer, while travelling along the skirt of the Thuringian forest near the river Werra and not far from the village of Schweina, was suddenly seized by a party of men in masks, who rushed forward on the road. They accomplished their commission without violence, and carried him back, through the forest, to the castle of Wartburg or Wartemburg. This castle is situated on the highest mountains near Issenach, and is remarkable for commanding an extensive prospect. It had been, in ancient times, a residence of the landgraves of Thuringia. Here Luther found it necessary to remain a considerable time in a state of friendly confinement.

The subsequent proceedings of the Diet were such as to show the expediency of this step, extra-

ordinary as it was. After some delay, incurred probably for the purpose of taking advantage of the departure of Luther's principal friends from the Diet, an imperial edict was issued which declared him a schismatic and heretic, and put him under the ban of the empire. A right was given to every one to seize the person and property of him and his adherents. This edict was not published until 26th May, although dated, for the sake of appearing the act of the Diet at large, so far back as the 8th May.

How far the seizure and confinement of Luther at Wartemburg was the act of Frederick alone, or in concert with the princes friendly to the Reformation, has not been ascertained. Certain it is that the emperor took no steps to follow up the proceedings against Luther, and was not scrupulous in availing himself, in his future politics, of the divisions attendant on the diffusion of the new doctrines.

The new mode of life consequent on his removal to the castle, was by no means agreeable to Luther. The want of sufficient exercise, the change from the plain diet of a monastery, but particularly his anxiety for the state of the church and the university of Wittemberg, all contributed to form subjects of complaint in his letters to his friends. His great apprehension was lest his absence from a participation in the exertions and troubles of his adherents, should be construed into a preference of personal safety to other considerations. In his letters to Melancthon we find him saying, "For the glory of the Scriptures and the consolation of

mankind, I would rather submit to a violent death than that you should think me languid in the cause. Even though I should perish, the word of God shall not perish, and you, I hope, like another Elisha would succeed Elijah. If the pope proceed to attack all who are of my sentiments, Germany must be involved in tumult, and the sooner the attempt is made, the sooner will he and his abettors be defeated."

Though secluded from intercourse with the world, Luther was incapable of passing his time in inactivity or indifference. He continued to study as laboriously as before, but the caution of Frederick and his ministers obliged him to delay publishing. The public disputations at the universities, too, were suspended, lest offence should be given to the church. Many of the professors, and among others Melancthon, considered this a serious invasion of academical liberty. Luther, when informed of it, urged them to deviate without hesitation from the injunctions of the court, adding "had I followed Spalatin's cautious admonitions, the one half of what I have done would never have been effected."

The first essay, which Luther found means to publish from his retreat, was a short treatise in German, on the abuse of auricular confession. The people, he said, so far from being benefited, were corrupted by it, and its chief use was to feed the ascendancy and luxury of the clergy. In contradistinction to this practice, he exhibited an account of the true nature of confession from the Scripture. His next publication was a short practical work, consisting of notes on the Evangelists, the merit of

which was acknowledged even by his adversaries. He carried on likewise a controversy with James Latomus, a divine of Louvain, already known to the public by his disputes with Reuchlin and Erasmus, and who had undertaken the defence of the decision given by his university in Luther's cause.

Luther's zeal for the university of Erfurt, the scene of his early studies, led him about this time to compose an address to the students of that seminary. They had been wanting in respect to the clergy, and though this originated in partiality to his doctrine, he did not hesitate to write to them in a tone of reprehension. Another of his publications related to the proper acceptation of the word "priests" in the New Testament. Connected with this question was the more important one of the propriety of the marriage of the clergy. It was now for the first time that he ventured to discuss this interesting question. He laid it down as a principle, that all men were at liberty to marry; that ecclesiastics were partakers of this general liberty; and that marriage was even incumbent on those who felt themselves inclined to it. One exception, however, he made in the case of ecclesiastics, and that exception was inclusive of himself;—it was of those who had made a spontaneous vow of celibacy. We shall see hereafter that in this, as in other points, his dissent from the established doctrine became gradually more complete. His friend Melancthon, who was not in orders, had married the preceding year.

The consideration of these subjects led Luther to the composition of his celebrated work on "Monastic Vows." Here he expressed himself with

great freedom on this fictitious and unnatural institution. His father had, as we have already mentioned, opposed his entering a monastery, and the treatise was dedicated to him as a tribute of filial affection. Another publication was prompted by a work of Ambrose Catherine, a Dominican, who had undertaken to controvert several of Luther's arguments, and who was eventually rewarded for his zeal by the attainment of high rank in the church. Luther in his answer confined himself to one concise and favourite allegation—that the pope was Antichrist. Though much superior to Catherine in strength of argument, he permitted himself to follow the example of that writer in the adoption of irritating and abusive language. In fact, one can hardly imagine a more bitter publication than this of Luther.—Another production of great boldness was a letter addressed on 25th November to Albert, archbishop of Mentz. The reply of this dignitary was by no means so severe as might have been expected from Luther's confident tone. Albert was too cool a politician to quarrel with the Reformer, and seemed to discover a wish to tranquillize and flatter him.

In these different publications, no allusion was made to his place of retreat. Although fearless himself, he made no difficulty in conforming to those precautionary measures which his friends thought necessary for his security. The castle of Wartburg was occasionally visited by gentry and nobility as a hunting quarter; and to prevent observation, it was necessary for Luther to assume the dress of a horseman. He sometimes even joined

the party in partaking of the sports of the field; and, absent as his thoughts were from the scene before him, appearances were so well kept up, that the visitors to the castle do not appear to have found him out.

The circumstance of his confinement, as it was calculated to increase the public sympathy for him, probably tended to favour the diffusion of his tenets. Various appearances indicated that they were beginning to take general root. In one point, however, matters went at this time contrary to his wish. The public reproach which he had thrown on the canon law would, he flattered himself, have brought it into disrepute at Wittemberg, and he was accordingly much surprised to hear of the appointment of a professor to teach canon law in his own university. To this office his friend Iodocus, or, as he afterwards chose to call himself, Justus Jonas, was nominated. This, joined to other circumstances, made Luther impatient to repair personally to Wittemberg, and satisfy himself about the measures that were going on. He ventured accordingly, without the elector's knowledge, to withdraw for a short time from the castle and re-appear among his friends. He found them proceeding very actively in the career of innovation. His brethren, the Augustinians, had gone great lengths. They had not only abolished private masses and the disgraceful custom of begging, but had granted a general exemption from the obligation of wearing the monastic habit, as well as liberty to whoever thought proper to withdraw from the Order. On the first of these topics, the abrogation of private mass, Luther addressed, in the month of No-

vember, a treatise to his brethren. Though somewhat apprehensive of their going too far, he heartily approved of their principles, and composed a laboured refutation of the tenets of the Romish church on the subject.* However the introduction of all these changes caused a great deal of serious debate in the fraternity. The elector found it necessary to interfere, and to depute Gregory Pontanus to inquire into the points in dispute. On the other hand, certain persons being appointed to carry on the discussion on the part of the university, the result of their deliberation was a petition to the elector for nothing less than a general abrogation of mass throughout his dominions. Jonas, Carolostad and Melancthon, were in the number of petitioners.

Luther was now to encounter an adversary of a new kind. Henry VIII. of England having, in the early part of life, paid some attention to the study of scholastic theology, was flattered by his courtiers into the belief of being able to obtain an easy triumph over the arguments of Luther. The "Babylonish Captivity" having attracted his notice, he boldly undertook the task of defending the seven sacraments of the Romish communion. He published a book and transmitted it, in the month of October, to Rome, where it was delivered, with the utmost formality, to the assembled conclave. The accompanying address was "*Anglorum Rex Henricus, Leo X. mittit hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitiæ.*" The title of "Defender of the Faith" was immediately conferred on this distinguished advocate of the church.

* Luth. ii. 244. Sleid. L. iii. Seckend. p. 214.

Henry's book, considering the badness of his cause and the wretched system of learning then in vogue, is not destitute of merit. His courtiers had the effrontery to declare that it must have been written under the influence of the Holy Spirit. But Luther was not to be discouraged either by high-sounding encomiums or by the rank of his assailant. He returned a prompt reply, and had no scruple in describing the king by the most abusive epithets. It is needless to make any selection, as the whole treatise is full of them. The length to which he went, gave his enemies a handle of reproach, and even caused regret among some of his friends.

At the end of this year, the emperor Charles, who had hitherto declined to carry the pope's bull into effect, began to act in hostility to the Reformation. Some steps were taken, at the instigation, it is said, of Alexander, the pope's nuncio, towards persecuting the Lutherans in the Netherlands. Orders were likewise given to burn Luther's books at Vienna.

Of all the remarkable events of this year, one of the least expected remains yet to be mentioned. This was the death of Leo X. which took place on the 1st or 2d of December. The suddenness of its occurrence, and the multiplied intrigues at the court of Rome, have given rise to a suspicion of poison; but the examination of this question would be foreign to the object of our narrative.*

* Ciacon. Vit. Pontif. p. 1417, 1447. See Appendix A A.

CHAPTER VIII.

YEARS 1522 AND 1523.

LUTHER having, after a short absence, returned to the castle of Wartemburg, began to devote himself to a labour of great importance—the translation of the Scriptures into German. The magnitude of the design was in correspondence with his ardent and enterprising cast of mind, and the seclusion of his present residence was favourable to the commencement of its execution. Zealous, however, as he was, he soon discovered that the task was a very difficult one. In a letter to his friend Amsdorff, written in January, he says,

"I am busily engaged in translating the Scriptures, although conscious that I have undertaken a work above my abilities. I have now some idea what it is to translate, and why no one who has attempted it has put his name to his version.* I cannot venture to attempt the Old Testament unless you and your associates be present and assist me. If by any means it could be managed, that I could lodge

* He alludes to the circumstance of no names being prefixed to the early translations of Scripture. This was probably owing to the custom of the times, and to the publicity of the individuals who undertook these meritorious labours.

in complete secrecy with any of you, I would immediately come, and, with your assistance, would again go over what I have translated, that the work might be made worthy of being read by Christians. I hope that our translation will be superior to the Vulgate. The occupation is great and honourable, and may employ us all, since the salvation of mankind is connected with it."

The history of this noble monument of Luther's industry deserves to be recorded with minuteness. He had applied during the preceding summer, with extraordinary diligence, to the study of the Greek and Hebrew. From the attempts which had been previously made to translate the Scriptures into German, Luther could derive little or no assistance. Versions of a homely kind had been published at Nuremberg in 1477, 1483, 1490, and at Augsburg so late as 1518. The common people, however, were not encouraged to read them, and the vulgarity of the style, together with the miserable printing, was ill calculated to attract the attention of others. In regard to the translation said to have been made in the days of Charlemagne, or the rhyming versions of the dark ages, it would be ridiculous to notice them otherwise than as matter of record. In the management of this great labour, Luther had frequently recourse to the assistance of his friends, and freely confesses the obligations which he owed to them. The reward of his industry has consisted in the approbation of his countrymen ever since the publication of his work. Catholic authors themselves, while they make great objection to the sentiments which, in their opinion, he has ingrafted

on the Scriptures, are loud in praising the perspicuity of the style. His manner of conducting his labour is explained in a letter which he addressed to Spalatin, after returning from his confinement to Wittemberg:

"I translated not only John's Gospel but the whole of the New Testament in my Patmos; but Melancthon and I have now begun to revise the whole of it, and it will, by the blessing of God, do us credit. We sometimes need your assistance to direct us to suitable modes of expression. Prepare yourself therefore, but supply us only with such words as are simple, and avoid all that are confined in their use to the camp or court. We wish the book to be distinguished by the simplicity of its style. To accomplish this, in one difficult passage, we beg you will furnish us with the names, colours, and if possible, a sight of the precious stones mentioned in Rev. xxi." This request had reference to the elector's collection of gems. Spalatin complied with the wish of his friends, and transmitted them the precious stones in question, which, after due examination, they sent back.*

Of the different books of the New Testament, Matthew's Gospel was published first, next Mark's, and the Epistle to the Romans. The other books soon followed, so that the whole came out by September 1522. With a view to extensive circulation among the lower orders, Luther took care that the form of the edition should be cheap; besides, the different books of the New Testament were pub-

* Seckend. p. 204.

lished separately and sold at a very low rate. The translation of this part of Scripture was only the beginning of his labours. He had the courage to proceed to the Old Testament, and, on 2d November he thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend:

"In my translation of the Old Testament, I am only in Leviticus. It is inconceivable how much writing letters, business, conversation, and many other things, have interrupted my progress. I am now determined to shut myself up at home and to use dispatch, so that the five books of Moses may be sent to press by January. We shall print them separately: after that we proceed to the historical parts of Scripture, and, lastly, to the Prophets. The size and price render it necessary to make these divisions in the publication." Nor did his progress fall short of his expectation, for he was enabled to send the Pentateuch to press by the middle of December. And in regard to the New Testament, such was the rapid sale of his translation, that a second edition was printed in the course of the same month.*

In proceeding with his labours in the Old Testament, Luther encountered various difficulties. Among other things, the proper names of animals were productive of much embarrassment;† but nothing could discourage him—he persevered, year after year, and had the satisfaction, as we shall find in the sequel, not only of completing, but of pub-

* Seckend. p. 204.

† The Hierozoikon of Samuel Bochart, a work replete with Roman, Greek, and Oriental learning, has now thrown great light on this obscure subject.

lishing amended editions of his gigantic undertaking.

The church of Rome was well aware of the danger to her superstitious legends and extravagant assumptions from a good translation of the Bible. Her defenders have therefore directed many attacks against Luther's labour, and have presumed to accuse it of frequently vitiating the sense of the original. Of these various critics none was more acrimonious than Jerome Emser, who, as we have already mentioned, was professor of canon law at Leipsic. Offended, like the rest of his brethren, that Luther should prefer the Greek original to the Latin Vulgate, he hastened, in 1523, to publish, in German, critical notes on Luther's translation of the New Testament. The number of heresies and falsehoods, of which this zealot accused Luther in his translation, amounted to no less than fourteen hundred. Cochlæus, equally hostile, but somewhat less presumptuous, is satisfied with estimating Luther's misrepresentations at the reduced number of one thousand. But Emser put the seal to his own condemnation by borrowing largely from Luther in a subsequent translation of his own. In regard to the Epistle of James, the attacks which Luther's opponents made on his hasty translation, were more formidable; but the means of supporting their animadversions by reference to canonical authority were either unknown to them or were very unskilfully managed in their hands.*

* Father Simon in his Hist. Crit. du Vieux Testam. endeavours to throw great blame on Luther's translation, but from the examples which he has adduced, it may be suspected that either

Meanwhile the civil authorities in Germany continued their efforts to crush the Lutheran doctrine. The affairs of the emperor had rendered his presence absolutely necessary in Spain, but the government was entrusted in his absence to a regency extremely hostile to the Reformation. Accordingly on January 20, under the presidency of the elector palatine, an edict was issued at Nuremberg, commanding the princes to proceed to punish those persons among the laity, who, in the language of the edict, "were profaners of the sacrament by partaking of the wine as well as of the bread." Equal rigour was enjoined towards those of the clergy who had ventured to depart from a state of celibacy. The bigoted George, duke of Saxony, was one of the few princes who thought proper to carry this decree into effect. He proceeded to imprison such of the monks as preached Luther's doctrine, and to recal from the universities those students who appeared to have imbibed a similar partiality.*

It was at this time, that the Anabaptists began their enthusiastic career, and showed to what an outrageous length the spirit of innovation may be carried in the hands of deluded men. As a sequel in some measure of the Reformation, Luther was much affected by these irregularities. But a more direct cause of disquietude arose from the precipitate measures of his own friends. In his absence from Wittemberg, Carolostad had taken the lead and was advancing with very decisive steps. He had not

he had read only a small part of it, or that he was no great critic in the German language.

* Seckend. p. 196.

only shaken himself loose of his clerical vow of celibacy and become a married man, a step of which Luther approved, but he had vehemently attacked the practice of having images in churches. The people, at his instigation, had even gone the length of throwing down those that were in the churches at Wittemberg and elsewhere. These proceedings Luther accounted precipitate, and was very unwilling to do any thing of the kind until the common people were better instructed, by which time, he argued, that images would fall of themselves. It has been suspected that he was unwilling to let Carolostad, or any other of his followers, take a lead in the career of Reformation; a conjecture confirmed, it must be confessed, by a passage in a letter from Luther to his friend Caspar Guttelius, in which, speaking of Carolostad, he says, "*At ille cupiebat fieri subitò novus magister, et suas ordinationes in populo autoritate mea erigere.*"* Be that as it may, Luther determined to leave forthwith his place of confinement. As he could have no hope of obtaining the elector's consent, he resolved to withdraw without his knowledge, and to assign his reasons by letter. He accordingly left the castle on 3d March, 1522, and addressed the elector a letter of some length, which, while it shows decided independence, is marked, more perhaps than any other production of Luther, with his characteristic eccentricities. It was expressed nearly as follows:

"I am almost in despair at what has taken place at Wittemberg. My former sufferings were child's

* Seckend. p. 197.

play compared to this alarm, which is calculated to throw reproach on the gospel itself. My great source of confidence is in the consciousness of an upright life, and if you are not convinced of that, I am willing to be denounced by you. My gospel proceeds not from man but from the Lord Jesus, and I shall henceforth call myself a servant of Christ and an evangelist. That I might attract others to the right path, I have published such knowledge as I possess, but my strain of communication has been too humble. Now, however, when I see that my moderation tends to impede the progress of the gospel, I am unwilling to yield any longer even to please a prince, as I did last year, not through fear but for a different reason. I ventured to enter Worms without dreading innumerable devils, and since duke George is not equal in power to one devil, the faithful have cause to rejoice and to be courageous, for they have God the Father, on whom they can call. The wrath of the duke should be scorned, and for my part I am resolved, were it necessary, to enter Leipsic, although the heavens should pour down for nine days together nothing but rulers of still greater cruelty. I write these things to your Highness that you may know that I return to Wittemberg under a protection far more powerful than that of an elector. The sword is not wanted to defend my cause, for God will take it into his own hands. Your Highness's faith is weak, and I cannot think of relying on it for my defence. You wish to know what you should do, and say you have done less than became you.—I reply, that you have nothing to do, and have already done too much.

It is contrary to the will of God, that your Highness or I should have recourse to arms in the defence of my cause. If you put belief in these things, you will be saved; if not, I at least believe them, and must permit your incredulity to be a source of vexation to you. Since I decline obeying you, you are not to blame if I be apprehended and put to death. I have no wish to oppose force to the emperor, that the world may see that he has the power of treating the persons and property of your subjects as he pleases. You cannot be asked to act the part of an executioner to me. Were that to be required, and I to be made acquainted with the situation in which it placed your Highness, I should take care (you may believe it or not,) that on my account you should be safe and uninjured in body, soul, and property."

Frederick received this communication the day after it was written, and appears to have pardoned the singular freedom which Luther took. Lest the Reformer's warmth, however, should carry him too far, and lead him to measures injurious to himself, the elector commissioned Schurff to converse with him and to treat him kindly. No notice was taken of the letter which we have just quoted; and it was merely proposed that Luther should address to the elector such a statement as might be fit to be shown to others. It was to contain a plain enumeration of his reasons for returning to Wittemberg; adding that the step was taken without the elector's knowledge, and was meant to injure no one. It was farther to be understood that Luther was not to preach in the great church of Wittemberg. To all this the

Reformer assented, and assigned, in the letter, three reasons for his return to Wittemberg—the invitation of the ecclesiastics and inhabitants of that city; the trouble in which his flock was involved; and, lastly, the confusion which he apprehended might arise in Germany in consequence of the imprudent conduct of some of his adherents. He took care, however, to subjoin the significant remark, that he should be under no apprehension were the contents of his former letter to be made known to the public.

Luther's return to Wittemberg gave occasion to lively demonstrations of joy, the learned and unlearned partaking equally in the general exultation. Various reasons induced him to lose no time in expressing his sentiments on the commotions which had occurred in his absence. He therefore stated explicitly, in seven separate discourses, his opinion on the controverted points. After insinuating that the weak should be treated with kindness, and that hasty measures were contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, he proceeded in a strain which was chiefly remarkable as indicative of his remaining attachment to several of the superstitious customs of the church of Rome. He was not yet prepared for the abolition of public mass, and consented to the disuse of private mass, from a sense, not of the folly inherent in the institution, but of the abuses which had crept into its practice. In expatiating on the evils of compulsory proceedings, he made a direct allusion to his having had it in his power to excite a tumult at Worms, had he chosen to render the emperor's stay there uncomfortable. In regard to

images, he thought that, if not worshipped in churches, they might have been tolerated there, had not the excessive abuses introduced in regard to them rendered their removal expedient. The question of fasting, or abstaining from flesh, he left to every man's option. In treating of admission to the Lord's supper, he expatiated on the necessity of a pious preparation, faith above all being indispensable, and that without which no one could be a worthy partaker of the ordinance. He concluded these discourses with what appears, in our age, a singular recommendation,—the utility of practising confession to priests.

While we praise the modesty with which Luther submitted to advise where he might, in a certain measure, have commanded, it is obvious that his views on some important doctrines were still obscure. Several of his disciples, among others Carolostad, were more exempt from prejudice in particular points, however inferior on a comprehensive comparison of their attainments. Whether it was owing to the perplexity of these intricate discussions, or to alarm at the dissensions which he saw springing up among the reformed, certain it is that Luther was at this time a prey to many painful fluctuations. The divisions among his followers caused him much more vexation than the avowed hostility of the church of Rome; and the alternations of confidence and despondence, which prevailed in his mind, are distinctly to be traced in documents which still remain. In a letter to his friend Langus, an ecclesiastic of Erfurt, he writes,

"I am not permitted to come to you, nor is it

lawful to tempt God and unnecessarily to court dangers, since here at Wittemberg I must lay my account with a sufficient number.—I, who have been excommunicated by the pope, put under the ban of the empire, exposed to death on every side, protected by none but God."* About the same time, in writing to the elector, he thus expressed himself: "I am of opinion that the opposition or kindness of your Highness, and even the hatred of the whole world, ought to be to me only secondary considerations in the present peculiar circumstances of the church. Your Highness is master of my body and of my destiny in this world, but Christ is the Lord of souls. The gospel which I preach has, I am assured, its origin from God, and by God's grace, no death or persecution shall wrest it from me.—Neither cruelty nor terror can extinguish this light."†

Of his various subjects of disquietude, one of the principal continued to proceed from the vehement temper of his friend Carolostad. The latter is represented to have made light of all classical education, and to have maintained that the Scriptures alone should be studied in universities. In the same spirit of innovation, he is said to have been an advocate for abrogating such honorary distinctions as the degrees of "Master of Arts and of Doctor." Nor did he find it easy to bring Luther fully into his opinion, that "at the Lord's supper it was necessary for the communicants to partake of the wine as well as of the bread." So minute were

* Seckend. p. 200. † Ibid. p. 196.

the causes of division of opinion on this subject, that serious disputes arose on the question, whether the communicants should take the bread and cup into their own hands, or receive them from those of the priest.

It was about this time that Luther had occasion to write to the Bohemians. They were beginning, he heard, to waver in their favourable disposition towards the new creed, in consequence of the divisions arising among its followers. He argued strongly that to return to the church of Rome was not the way to escape the evils of discussion, since no communion was more distracted by multiplicity of schisms. Indefatigable in his labours against the papacy, he soon after published a work entitled, *Adversus falsò nominatum ordinem Episcoporum.* It is of importance to remark, that the persons attacked were only those "falsely called bishops," Luther never having entertained any doubt of the divine origin of the episcopal office. It was at the intellectual and moral defects of the occupants of the station, and not at the station itself, that he aimed the shafts of censure. Whoever is acquainted with the history of that period, must be fully aware that ample scope was given him by the vices and ignorance of the bishops. Luther exposed, with no sparing hand, their indecent luxury, their unbounded vanity, and their gross ignorance of Scripture and religion. Seldom has there appeared a more successful attack, and numerous as were the parties interested in its refutation, no satisfactory answer could be given to it. It is, in my opinion, the happiest of all his polemical works, and contains

a most striking illustration of the tendency of monastic institutions to propagate dissolute manners.—Having now been deprived of his sacerdotal character, and stripped of his doctor's degree, by the excommunication of the pope and emperor, Luther contented himself with assuming the simple designation of "Ecclesiastes" or "Preacher."

The next of his numerous publications was a small treatise, entitled *De Doctrinis hominum vitandis.* This may be considered an abridgement of his former book on "Monastic Vows." In both works he argues against the merit of fasting and celibacy, but, in the latter, he takes occasion to pass a strong censure on those who, like his friend Carolostad, were advancing too fast in the race of innovation. "Let these forward men," he says, "who boast of their reformation because they have ceased to resort to confession, and have relinquished abstinence from eggs and flesh, or because they have gone the length of breaking down images; let these persons know that I account them similar to those, who, contrary to the command, (Deut. xxiii. 12, 14,) polluted the camp of the Israelites. We tolerate them until they be corrected by God; but my writings are intended for the miserable, afflicted, and as it were captive consciences of those who know not how to exonerate themselves, without self reproach, from their vows."

A production from the pen of Melancthon was the next publication on the side of the reformed. Luther, having procured a manuscript commentary of his unassuming friend on the Epistle to the Romans, caused it to be printed without his know-

ledge, and afterwards wrote to him that he preferred his labours to those of Jerome and Origen. He likewise published an edition of the works of Gensevoit, a native of Groningen in Friezland, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and ventured, above fifty years before Luther, to step forward as a censor of the corruptions of the church, publishing his works under the assumed name of Wesselus.*

Questions of doctrine and moral conduct had hitherto so much occupied Luther, as to prevent him from bestowing sufficient attention on the ritual of the church. The ordinance of baptism continued to be administered with the service in Latin. Luther translated the service into German, but, by way of discouraging hasty innovation, he retained for a time the chief part of the Romish ceremonies, ridiculous as they were. The exorcism performed by the priest breathing three times on the child, the practice of putting salt into the child's mouth, of touching the ears and nose with consecrated oil, of putting a small mitre on the head and wax candle into the hand, along with the sign of the cross in the forehead, were all continued by Luther during the short remaining period of Frederick's government. The elector had not acceded to the wish of his senate to patronise the diffusion of the new doctrine, and it was not till two years after, and under

* This eminent person was born in 1400 and died in 1489. His learning was such as to gain him the appellation of "light of the world." His character is given in Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 257, and an abridgement of his work is inserted in Seckendorff, p. 226. Luther had not seen his book when he commenced his attack on Indulgences, though his enemies insisted that he had.

the more decided government of his brother and successor, John, that Luther revised the ritual of baptism, and abrogated all these superfluous forms, except exorcism and the sign of the cross.

The Catholics meanwhile continued to exert themselves with the different princes of the empire, to oppose the progress of the new heresy. They were unfortunately too successful in their efforts with several of them, particularly with Luther's inveterate enemy, George, duke of Saxony. Leipsic was the chief theatre for the display of these persecutions. The early introduction of the Reformation into that city, the celebrated disputation between Luther and Eckius, but particularly Luther's translation of the New Testament, all concurred to create a partiality for the new doctrines. The bigoted George proceeded to buy up the copies of this translation, and to inflict punishment on those of his subjects who ventured to retain them. At his instigation the bishop of Mersburg visited the university of Leipsic, and interdicted the use of this obnoxious translation, a prohibition soon followed by an injunction to avoid repairing to the neighbouring territory of the elector Frederick, for the purpose of hearing religious discourses. These measures, however, were altogether inefficacious. The youth, impatient of restraint, deserted the university of Leipsic, and resorted, in great numbers, to Wittemberg.—The other persecutors of the reformed faith were Henry of Brunswick and Ferdinand, the emperor's brother. The scene of their oppression was laid in the Austrian dominions and in the dutchy of Wurtemburg.* In the month of October

* Sleid. iii. Seckend. p. 240.

the Augustinian monastery at Antwerp, and all the monks who had been instrumental in the diffusion of Luther's doctrine, were either forced to recant or put to death.

Notwithstanding the hostile disposition of duke George of Saxony, Luther ventured to pass through his territory in his way to Zwickau. That town was at three days' journey from Wittemberg, and it has been supposed that Luther, who had now acquired a powerful influence over the minds of men, went thither by Frederick's desire to tranquillize certain discontents which had arisen. Be that as it may, his fame had gone before him, and strangers, to the number, it is said, of fourteen thousand, were collected to hear him. The points on which he chose to discourse were predestination, the merit of good works, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy. He was heard with the greatest attention, and the multitude were so much struck with his arguments on the last of these topics, that they actually obliged the Franciscan monks, who were resident there, to withdraw from the city and neighbourhood.

It is now time to turn our eyes towards the court of Rome. On the death of Leo, an extraordinary degree of competition took place among the parties who were interested in nominating his successor. All the artifice and finesse, which are practised by men grown grey in intrigue, were exerted; but the party of the emperor Charles prevailed. The individual chosen was, in point of personal character, by no means the man whom the public would have

expected to see advanced to the papacy in times of so much difficulty and alarm. His name was Adrian, and he had filled the office of tutor to Charles. His promotion to the rank of cardinal had been comparatively recent. It had taken place in July, 1517, at the time when Leo, having got notice of a combination against him in the conclave, created no fewer than thirty-one cardinals in one day. Adrian was thus, in a great measure, a stranger to the manœuvres of ecclesiastical policy. In early life, he had attached himself to the study of scholastic theology. Being a native of Utrecht, he had, from vicinity of situation as well as congeniality of pursuits, been intimate with Erasmus. Catholic writers, aware of this, and unwilling to acknowledge the preponderance of political intrigue in the conclave, allege that Adrian's superiority in learning was the great motive of his nomination. The times, they said, called for a pope familiar with the weapons of controversy. *Doctis hereticis doctiorem se opponere dicebant pontificem.**

If we find a difficulty in subscribing to so lofty an encomium on Adrian's erudition, we can have none in ascribing to him the merit of good intentions. His measures against the reformed, severe as they were, seem rather to have arisen from errors of judgment than from a disposition to tyrannize. His first step in this respect was to write to Frederick, on October 5, 1522, in terms of high compliment to the well known orthodoxy of the elector and his ancestors. The letter might have been

* Sekend. p. 252.

called a repetition of one of Leo's epistles, had it not contained a reference to Adrian's intimacy with the elector before he was raised to the papal chair, and an assurance that his friendship had undergone no abatement. It was carried to Frederick at the Diet assembled at Nuremberg, where prince Ferdinand presided as regent, during his brother's absence in Spain. The pope's agent at this Diet was Francis Cheregato, a skilful diplomatist. Neither his intrigues, however, nor the letter to Frederick, promising any successful result, recourse was had to an address, in the name of the pope, to the assembled princes of the empire.

This address was accordingly delivered to the Diet on 25th November, and the Reformation was handled in it in a tone which forms a curious contrast with the letter to Frederick. No means, it is said, had been left untried to reclaim the new heretics, and to guard the Lord's people from a contagion which threatened to "overthrow property and dissolve the bands which unite civil society."

The drift of this language was to identify the interests of the civil power with those of the church, and to spread among princes that alarm which hitherto had been felt only by ecclesiastics. With a rancour which no provocation could justify, the sacrifice of Luther's life is represented in this address as a meritorious deed. The fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, of Ananias and Sapphira, is brought forward with as much solemnity as if the decision of the pope were equivalent to the interposition of God. The examples of perfidy exercised towards John Huss and Jerome of Prague are ap-

pealed to without any sense of shame. This violent manifesto was followed by equally violent anathemas against Luther's books.

These declamations are so much at variance with Adrian's character, that we are induced to regard him on this occasion as a passive instrument in the hands of his counsellors. In other things we are enabled to trace the prevalence of his personal qualities. He was not only more sincere than his predecessors, but better qualified to judge of the extent of present corruption by a knowledge of the history of the church in her purer days. Neither Julius nor Leo understood or cared for church discipline, except in as far as it was connected with the prosecution of their political schemes. But Adrian made no scruple in acknowledging, in his instructions to his legate, Cheregato, that extraordinary and manifold corruptions had crept into the church. His communication on this head is not a little remarkable:

"Many abominable things," he said, "have been committed in this holy chair for several years past. —Abuses in spiritual things, excesses in the mandates given, and, in fine, every thing changed for the worse. No wonder, therefore, that sickness should descend from the head to the members, from the elevated pontiffs to inferior prelates. In what relates to us, you will therefore promise, that we shall do our endeavours, that our court, from which perhaps all this evil has proceeded, undergo a speedy reform. If corruption has of late flowed from it, sound doctrine and reformation shall now proceed from the same source. To this we shall account

ourselves the more obliged to attend, as the whole world appears most ardently to desire the accomplishment of such a reform. I have accepted the pontificate, that I might reform the spouse of Christ, assist the neglected and oppressed, and appropriate to the learned and virtuous the money which has of late been squandered on grooms and stage-players."*

Candid as was the disposition of Adrian, his acknowledgements conveyed but a feeble picture of the disorders of the church. The ecclesiastical profession had long been followed throughout Europe, but particularly in Italy and Germany, as a mere trade. The younger sons of families of rank were provided with the richest benefices without any regard to their morals or education. It often happened that persons in the station of bishops were novices in the knowledge of religion. The clergy arrogated, notwithstanding, as many privileges and immunities as if they had been beings of a higher order. They refused to be tried by the same laws as the laity, while the possessions of the church were declared to be unalienable, and could not of course fail to be in a regular state of increase. The popes, having usurped the patronage of ecclesiastical appointments throughout a great part of Europe, were enabled to introduce emissaries in all directions, and to keep the whole ecclesiastical body in a state of expectation and dependence. On many occasions, the preferments to livings were publicly sold; and it has been said, that companies of dealers were known to buy them by wholesale at Rome to

* Seckend. p. 255. Sleid. L. iv.

be subsequently retailed, at an advanced price, in the provinces. Among priests of a lower order, the want of education and of morals was notorious. For a proof of this we need go no farther than the proposition submitted to the Diet of Nuremberg, a twelvemonth after the time we are treating of. This proposition came from a quarter friendly to the church, and gravely recommended that priests should be prohibited from "meddling in traffic, from frequenting taverns, and from keeping concubines."

The confessions of Adrian were too important to escape the observation of Luther. He lost no time in translating them into German, and in publishing them with his own remarks.* Among the adherents of the papacy these extraordinary acknowledgements of Adrian could hardly fail to give great offence. However well informed in regard to the vices of ecclesiastical dignitaries, he showed himself unconscious of their obstinacy, and of that unblushing hypocrisy which induced them to hold out the conduct of the members of the church as wholly devoid of blame.

These explicit acknowledgements of Adrian were followed by a still more explicit declaration on the part of the princes of the empire. They had long been sufferers by the vices and exactions of the clergy, and they embraced the present opportunity of a threatened schism, and of the accession of a new pope, to make a strong representation of their case. Hence the origin of the *Centum Gravamina*,

* Sleid. L. iv.

or celebrated catalogue of one hundred grievances, drawn up at this Diet for the purpose of being transmitted to Rome. The princes here enumerated the gross corruptions, in doctrine as well as in conduct, of the members of the church, and insisted on the necessity of speedy reform. These things they neither could nor would suffer any longer, but were driven, by the iniquity of the case, to devise means by which they might be relieved from them. They proposed to his Holiness to assemble a general Council in some part of Germany, while they, in the mean time, should endeavour to prevail on Frederick to prevent Luther from publishing any thing until the decision of the Council should be known. They declared, however, the necessity of carrying the edict of Worms into effect, and desired that those who preached the new doctrine should be provisionally suspended in the exercise of their functions.*

On the receipt of this memorable remonstrance, Cheregato became sensible that Adrian's instructions had admitted too much. He demanded, as a kind of counterpoise, the adoption on the part of the Diet of new measures against the reformed, and on failing to obtain their consent, he left Nuremberg in anger and without taking leave. He returned forthwith to Italy and joined the faction opposed to Adrian, to whom the compliment so grossly misapplied to Leo, of being a "lamb in the midst of wolves," might be very justly addressed. The cardinals, offended at the instructions given to the legate, imagined that the best method of correcting

* Frederick protested against this. Seckend. 260.

that imprudent measure, was to prevail on the pontiff to write a letter to the elector of Saxony, expressed, as far as regarded Luther, in very violent terms. At the same time, Adrian, seriously believing that the balance of sound reasoning was altogether in favour of the church, ascribed the want of success on the part of the Catholics to their unskilfulness in handling the weapons of controversy. Under this impression, he appointed Faber, suffragan of Constance, to harangue against Luther's doctrines, and to counteract their progress by a strenuous display of argument.

The injunction by the Diet to suspend preaching on controverted topics till the convocation of a general Council, was differently explained by Luther and by the Catholics. The chief point was to define the doctrine coming under this description. The Catholics laid stress on the authority of Thomas, Scotus, and other scholastic doctors; while Luther refused attention to these obsolete luminaries, and founded his interpretations on the writings of Augustine, Cyprian, and Hilary. Were the notions of the former admitted, there would, he argued, be no necessity for holding the required Council.—In regard to the publication of obnoxious books, persons had been appointed, in consequence of an Imperial edict, to superintend the press. The Catholics wished to include in the proscription Luther's translation of the Bible, but the Reformer contended that no personal exception to him should be allowed to restrain the circulation of the word of God.

The death of one of Luther's patrons, Seckingen,

having taken place, his papers happened to fall into hands inimical to Luther. Eberhard, count of Konigstein, boasted that he had found among them a letter from Luther, which contained expressions disrespectful to the emperor, and tending to promote insurrection in the empire. Of this Luther's enemies contrived to make a great handle, which, joined to some other alarming considerations, made his friends advise him to submit again to a secret confinement. To such recommendations, however, he gave a decided negative. "Let Behemoth rage," said he, "I will withdraw no more into a corner."

Prince Ferdinand of Austria, the emperor's brother, continued to declare himself an inveterate enemy to Luther's doctrine. The queen of Denmark, his sister, having, when passing through Saxony along with her husband, sent for Luther, and having listened to his discourse, Ferdinand was heard to declare, that he would sooner have learnt that his sister had perished in the sea than conversed with such a heretic. King Christiern, however, was of a very different way of thinking. "Never," said he, "have I heard the gospel so well explained as by Luther. So long as I continue to live, I shall hold his discourse in remembrance, and shall submit with greater patience to whatever I am destined to endure." *

The conduct of our Henry VIII. was more in the spirit of Ferdinand than of Christiern. His vanity and impatience could ill brook the triumphant and sarcastic tone displayed in Luther's answer. Urged

* Seckend. p. 263.

by his ministers to oppose the progress of the Reformation, he came forward and declared it improper to bring the Scriptures within reach of the common people. He exerted himself accordingly to prevent the diffusion of Luther's translation, and addressed letters to that effect to the elector Frederick, to his brother John, and to George, duke of Saxony. George, who was exceedingly eager to suppress the circulation of the translation of the Bible, returned a very cordial answer, and lamented that Luther was not within his jurisdiction. Frederick and his brother, between whom the utmost cordiality always subsisted, replied in the same evasive style as they had adopted on former occasions. They attempted to sooth the violent Henry, and were not altogether unsuccessful, though they were a good deal offended at the freedom taken by the English ambassador in publishing Henry's letter in Saxony before they had received a copy of it.

But the injury to the cause of the Reformation from the opposition of particular cabinets, was greatly outweighed by the advantages attendant on the general circulation of the Scriptures. The obstacles thrown in the way tended to redouble the zeal of the advocates of translations of Scripture. Many persons accounted it honourable to devote themselves to preaching and commenting on the sacred volume.* They were more particularly occupied in demonstrating the analogy of Luther's doctrine to the precepts of Scripture, and their mi-

* The names of the more remarkable among these preachers are to be seen in Seckend. p. 270.

nistrations were received with great joy by the people. In the zeal of the age, all methods of disseminating religious knowledge appear to have been embraced. Persons who had a poetical turn composed hymns and sacred ballads, to be put into the hands of poor people, who made a livelihood by singing them through the country. One cannot well imagine a more effectual method of rendering Scripture history familiar to the minds of the lower orders. Among the persons who exerted themselves in turning such subjects into verse was Paul Spretter, a man of rank from Suabia, who was indefatigable in forwarding the Lutheran cause in Prussia. On one of the occasions on which he had turned into verse the subject of his discourse, it is related, that the poor man who received the printed copies of the rhymes, repaired to Wittemberg, and in the course of his progress through the town, sung them under Luther's window. The attention of the Reformer was caught by the subject; he listened with pleasure to the song, and when, on inquiry, he learned the name of its author, he is said to have burst into tears, and rendered thanks to God for making such humble expedients conducive to the propagation of sacred truth.*

By this time, the diffusion of a spirit of liberty had induced many Augustinian monks to withdraw from an unnatural state of seclusion and an inactive life. This, though strongly censured by the Catholics, had ceased in the case of the male sex to

* Seckend. 271. The word *ballad* in our language originally signified a sacred song. Thus in the old translations of the Bible Solomon's Song is called the Ballad of Ballads.

be matter of surprise. But in the spring of this year, the public attention had been excited by a different circumstance. Nine nuns effected their escape from the convent of Nimptschen, near to Grimma. They were assisted in this by Leonard Coppe, a senator of Torgau, as well as by other respectable citizens. They were all of genteel families, and among the number was Catherine de Bora, who became, two years afterwards, the wife of Luther. This unexpected evasion surprised all parties, and supplied a great handle of declamation against Luther's doctrine. Frederick, when requested to provide for the support of these female refugees, until they should be sent back to their parents, thought proper to give his aid in secret. Other persons imitated his caution, but Luther spoke boldly out, and decidedly undertook the defence of the nuns, as well as of those who had aided them in effecting their escape. He blamed, in very severe terms, those parents who were guilty of so great a crime as to immure their children in a convent, without consulting their inclination, or considering the grievous nature of the yoke imposed on them.*

Luther had long experienced difficulty and vexation from the conduct of many of the canons in the Wittemberg monastery. Their adherence to private mass and other absurd ceremonies of the Romish church, their habits of idleness and vice, were grievances not to be overcome by the power of reasoning.

* Seckend. 272, et seq. Not long after, sixteen nuns deserted, under similar circumstances, the convent at Widerstetten in the county of Mansfeld.

By degrees, however, as the elder brethren died, the juniors adopted the new doctrine. Such was now the alteration of opinion in respect to the monastic vow, that the abbot of Heisfeld, although he continued a Catholic himself, left the monks and nuns at perfect liberty to quit the monastery if they thought proper. Linccius, vicar of the Augustinians at Nuremberg, and Luther's early friend, relinquished that situation and came to Altenburg, where he entered into the married state and became the pastor of a congregation.

The Bohemian dissenters from the Romish church, though not exactly coincident in opinion with Luther, looked towards him with a friendly and respectful eye. In the course of this year, they had occasion to communicate with him on two subjects. The first regarded the sacrament, and was discussed by a deputation to the Reformer from a particular sect, descended from the disciples of Huss, and known by the name of "Picards." In their verbal conferences with Luther on the subject of the sacrament, there seemed to exist little difference of opinion; but on a subsequent examination of their doctrine expressed in writing, Luther was induced to state to them a series of contrary arguments, which are marked, we must confess, with the ordinary obscurity of his views on this subject.*

The next topic of discussion was more general, and comprehended the Bohemian schismatics at large. These well intentioned religionists laid great

* See Appendix B B.

stress on what may be termed the "lineal descent of ministers of the gospel." Though at variance in several respects with the See of Rome, they considered the pope as the successor of the apostles, and were desirous that their pastors should receive ordination at the hands of him or his subordinates. Their differences with the church regarded the irregular lives of the clergy, and the impurity of certain points of doctrine; objections which, however serious, did not, in their opinion, affect the pope's right of ordination. But the Catholic bishops in Bohemia, inveterate against the schismatics for various reasons, but particularly for the grand offence of giving the cup to the laity at the administration of the sacrament, refused to be the instruments of granting the desired ordination to their ministers. The latter accordingly were under the painful necessity of submitting to a journey to Rome; where, as every thing was venal, they were accustomed to get their wish accomplished on payment of stipulated fees.

On this subject the senate of Prague had recourse to Luther's advice. His answer was, that they should unanimously resist these exactions, and if there were no means by which such fatiguing and disgusting journeys could be rendered unnecessary, it would, in his opinion, be much better that they remained without ministers of religion. Fathers of families, he added, might read the gospel to their household and baptize children, though they durst not, or could not, take the eucharist during the whole course of their lives. A neighbourhood might associate together, and, if they exercised faith and

charity, they might rest assured, that Christ was in the midst of them, though they had no one present who had been anointed with oil. Soon after this Luther published a treatise, in which he attempted to prove, from reason and Scripture, the right possessed by Christians to judge of doctrines, to appoint individuals to the office of ministers, or to depose them if they became unfaithful. He went farther, and declared it the right of every respectable Christian to act as minister whenever there appeared a deficiency of regular clergymen. The latitude of Luther's tenets, in these respects, has been warmly opposed by episcopalians, and as vigorously supported by other denominations of Christians. To enter on a discussion of the controversy would be altogether unsuitable to the plan of this work, but it may be proper to observe, that the length to which Luther went in declaring every Christian competent to perform clerical duties,* may be supposed to have been in some measure prompted by the urgency of circumstances in the peculiar situation of the Bohemians.*

* These sentiments of Luther lead us to advert to the "Independents" in our country. Of these the first were the Brownists, a sect which has been much misrepresented by persons who have not taken the trouble to peruse what the defenders of that system have advanced. Ainsworth, the celebrated commentator on the Pentateuch, was a *Brownist*. The learning, judgment, and ingenuity which he discovers in all his works, as well as his extraordinary knowledge of the Scriptures, ought to induce those, who make no scruple of profiting by his labours, and of allowing him extraordinary merit as a commentator, to hesitate, whether a man of his character was likely to associate himself with such persons as some have described the Brownists. The best ac-

Luther's next collision was with his former opponent, George, duke of Saxony. That prince having got into his possession some letters which had been written by Luther to a friend, named Croneberg, was highly offended at the free animadversions which they contained on his own conduct. In an indignant tone he demanded of Luther in writing, whether he acknowledged himself the author of these letters. Luther, without any direct admission to that effect, replied to the duke in a style of great freedom. He declared that he had written nothing about the duke which he was not ready to defend on good grounds; repeated the charge of his being unmerciful and disposed to accredit falsehoods; but added, that he would pray for him, though an enemy, and would not be wanting in respectful behaviour, although he stood in no dread of bulls. Albert, count of Mansfeld, having soon after conversed with Luther, and urged him to pacify the duke by a milder reply, the Reformer made answer, "That were it not to impair the glory of the

count, as far as it goes, which I have seen of that sect, is prefixed to Ainsworth's Treatise on the Communion, published at Edinburgh by Dr. Charles Stuart, in 1789. The errors of Neale and others are there corrected by a reference to the works in which the different controversies are discussed. In the same train of thinking followed Dr. John Owen, who may be considered the chief founder of what is called the Independents in England. Sir Peter King, in his "Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church," adopted a similar system; and one of the persons who, in late years, approached nearest to the sentiments of Luther, was Principal George Campbell, of Aberdeen, in his lectures on ecclesiastical history.

gospel, he would willingly declare himself the devoted slave of that prince and of every personal enemy, as became a Christian; that the count was at liberty to promise every thing to the duke, provided he would desist from persecuting the word of God; but unless that was agreed to, he was determined to take no step to appease the duke's fury and blindness."

Nearly about this time, Louis, the young king of Hungary and Bohemia, was stimulated to declare himself on the same side as duke George. He addressed a letter to the elector Frederick, advising him to withdraw his protection from Luther, because he had defamed the Christians and extolled the Turks. Frederick replied with his usual composure, assuring him that none of the things of which he complained were protected in his principality, and insinuated that it must have been Luther's enemies who had calumniated him. This youthful sovereign was not destined to arrive at the age in which he might have proved either an effectual friend or enemy of the Reformation, being killed in 1526 at the battle of Mohatz against the Turks, in his twenty-second year.

I have now the painful task of adverting to a melancholy example of the cruelty of the persecutors of the Reformed. Though in Germany their hatred did not go the length of inflicting capital punishments, the case of the Netherlands was very different. Jerome Aleander the pope's nuncio, and his cruel associates, Nicholas Egmond, a Carmelite, and James Hoogstraaten, a Dominican, with other monks of Louvain and Mechlin, acted an unrelenting

part toward the protestants, and were supported in their nefarious proceedings by Margaret, the regent and sister of the emperor Charles, as well as by the imperial magistrates. The first victims in the cause of Lutheranism were two Augustinian monks of Antwerp, named Henry Voës and John Esch. While in prison they were treated with alternate lenity and severity, and every effort was tried to induce them to recant, but no length of confinement or extent of suffering could shake their constancy. A resolution was finally taken to commit them to the flames, after divesting them of their office of priest, since no one holding that rank could be made the object of an ignoble punishment. They were both brought to the stake at Brussels on 1st July, 1523, and endured the dreadful punishment, not only with patience but with exultation. Henry, the younger of the two, was a very interesting character. He openly declared that he preferred reading the Scripture with Luther's commentary, to all the decrees of pontiffs or decisions of doctors. The pope, he affirmed, was not constituted by Christ his vicar upon earth, but merely his servant to preach and to tend his flock. True faith, he added, cannot be separated from charity, because charity is the effect of faith, and without charity faith is dead. His persecutors endeavouring to attach to Luther the whole blame of these heretical tenets, he freely admitted that he had come to the knowledge of the truth by means of Luther's writings. On their blaming him as one who had been seduced by Luther, he gave this

memorable reply, "I have been seduced by him as the Apostles were by Christ."

The fate of these victims was a signal to Luther and his friends of the lot that awaited them whenever the church should be in possession of a favourable opportunity. The awful prospect formed a powerful bond of confirmation in their belief and in their mutual attachment. Luther celebrated the fall of these martyrs in a hymn which long continued to be sung in the churches of Germany, and which has been published in various collections of hymns of modern date. He wrote likewise a letter of condolence to the brethren in Holland, Brabant, and Flanders, and inserted in it a most animating and affecting account of the death and behaviour of the victims.

Notwithstanding the increasing popularity of his cause, this year proved a season of much anxiety to Luther. Like the great Apostle of the Gentiles, he might say that the care of all the churches came on him daily. Many who were favourable to his cause had very indistinct conceptions of his doctrine, and imagined that their doubts could be solved only by application to the fountain head. Hence innumerable applications, both personally and by letter, to Luther. To this was added a heavy demand on his time for the consolation of friends in affliction. The pressure of such an accumulation of tasks became almost too great for a constitution which had never been strong. His vexations were aggravated by what appeared to him languor and indifference on the part of the elector

Frederick, as well as by the embarrassment attendant on straitened circumstances. Yet his confidence in God made him bear patiently with adversity, and his disposition was so generous, that on receiving presents from those friends who perceived his distress, he frequently bestowed them on the poor. On one occasion, after receiving a small donation from the court, he wrote to Spalatin, "My relations at Mansfeld have extracted it from me. I do not wish to have any more lest I be deprived of it, I ought in truth to have nothing." *

The name of Cochlæus has been already mentioned as hostile to the cause of Luther. This person was chaplain to George, duke of Saxony, and afterward dean of the collegiate church of Frankfort. Pertinacious in his opposition, he omitted no opportunity of encountering the new doctrines, and even stooped to the base expedient of inventing falsehoods for the personal detraction of Luther. It was he, who many years after, fabricated the story of Luther having undertaken his opposition to Tetzel from a selfish feeling towards his own Order. Indeed after the rough manner in which Luther handled him, during this year in particular, we need harly wonder at his proceeding an extraordinary length at a time when the Reformer was no longer capable of contradicting his allegations. †

Among the more respectable opponents of the Reformation, I must not omit the name of John

* See Appendix C C. † See Appendix D D.

Fisher, bishop of Rochester. This sincere and religious member of the church impugned Luther's theses, and wrote a treatise against the Reformer, in vindication of that sovereign who was one day to make him the victim of his constancy in adhering to the catholic faith.

CHAPTER IX.

YEARS 1524 AND 1525.

IT is now time to direct our attention to the proceedings of the court of Rome. The virtuous but inexperienced Adrian had paid the debt of nature on the 14th September, 1523. Short as his administration had been, he had seen enough to make him lament his elevation to the pontificate, and cast a wishful eye to the happiness of private life. His plain habits and antipathy to ostentation prevented him from being popular among the Italians, who had been dazzled by the luxury and splendor of his predecessor Leo. His death gave occasion, as usual, to strong contentions of interest in the conclave. At last, Julius of Medicis was elected in the end of November, and assumed the name of Clement VII. His character formed a complete contrast to that of Adrian, for he had been formed to business during the pontificate of Leo X. Having had the management of affairs during the government of that pope, he was thoroughly acquainted with the politics of the court of Rome, and determined to follow a very different course of conduct from Adrian. The chief difficulty which he apprehended, in regard to the Reformation, arose from the extraordinary admissions made by his predecessor. He deemed it expedient

therefore to negotiate as if Adrian had taken no active part in these unpleasant proceedings. His first care was to make choice of a legate experienced in diplomacy and acquainted with the affairs of Germany. With that view he fixed on cardinal Campegio who had been nuncio in Germany in the time of the emperor Maximilian. It was in consequence of his former residence in that country that Clement in a letter to the elector Frederick, said with reference to Campegio, *nec minus istæ provinciæ notus, et, ut speramus, carus.**

We are now to contemplate some of the proceedings of the papal court under the direction, not of the indolent Leo, or the unsuspicious Adrian, but of a leader thoroughly conversant with its politics. Agreeably to a former observation, we shall here find more room to attribute to it dexterity in diplomacy than a comprehensive knowledge of the state of society. Blind, like most bad governments, to the real cause of public discontent, Clement and his advisers looked, in particular circumstances and events, for that which they should have sought in the general diffusion of information. The celebrated complaint of the "Hundred grievances" was attributed by them, not to the detection of coarse abuses, or to indignation at the continuance of practices fitted only for an age of ignorance, but to the encouragement imprudently afforded by the

* Luth. T. ii. p. 411. Campegio had likewise been legate in England, and was at a subsequent time, the bearer of the bull permitting Henry's divorce from Queen Catherine. He was chosen for this office because Henry and cardinal Wolsey wished the pope to employ a *tractable* man. Burnet's Hist. Reform. ii.

acknowledgments of Adrian. Their policy accordingly was to avoid all admissions of the nature made by that pontiff, and to take as little notice as possible of the remonstrance of the German princes. On the seventh of December therefore, Clement addressed a letter to the elector Frederick, alluding, in general terms, to the disturbances existing in Germany, and expressing a confident belief that the elector would advocate the cause of the church.* This letter, in imitation of the example of his two predecessors, was intended to pave the way for the farther progress of Campegio's negociation. Accordingly on 15th January, 1524, that legate being about to repair to the Diet assembled at Nuremberg, the pope wrote another letter to Frederick, still expressed in general terms but in a style of studied complaisance, and intimating a wish that the elector would consult with the legate in regard to the best means of restoring peace and tranquillity to the empire.

Campegio arrived at Nuremberg on 14th February, and learned, with much disappointment, that Frederick had left that city and gone home. He therefore determined to transmit the pontiff's letter inclosed in one from himself, which is still preserved, and is, of all the epistolary compositions addressed to Frederick by the popes or their agents, by far the most skilfully prepared.† It was in substance as follows.

"I lament exceedingly that I have had no opportunity of meeting your highness at Nuremberg, as

* Luth. ii. 411.

* Luth. ii. p. 412. Sleid. L. iv. Seckend. 287.

the pope's letter by no means contains all that I have to communicate. Clement commanded me to state many things, which it is now impossible for me to do otherwise than by means of a nuncio or by letter; neither of which are the modes of communication which I wish. A report, I hear, has been circulated that your highness favours the new heresy, but nothing, be assured, is farther from the pope's belief, or my own, since we consider your highness a most shining star, a sedulous observer of Christian piety, and a warm adherent to the apostolic see. How can a prince of discrimination be otherwise? The love of innovation on the part of the common people, confined at present to matters of religion, would, if allowed to go on, be very soon transferred to a subversion of that subordination to princes and magistrates without which civil society is at an end. If we advert to the recent insurrections in Bohemia and Hungary, we shall find that all the tumults and confusion, which have taken place, have been owing to the dangerous example of the new heresy. Similar events, we may confidently predict, will happen in Germany, unless a speedy check be given to such presumption. As for me, I have been sent by the holy father, to restore those that have fallen, to direct the wanderer, and to receive into the bosom of the church all who are disposed to return—an arduous enterprise, and undertaken chiefly in a reliance on the gracious aid of your highness."

Ably as this letter was penned, it does not appear to have extracted any answer from the wary Frederick. At the Diet, Campegio expressed his

astonishment that so many wise princes should permit the abolition of the rites in which they had been educated, without perceiving that those innovations had a direct tendency to shake the stability of their own power. His Holiness, he added, did not prescribe any thing, but had commissioned him to consult with the Diet about the measures best adapted to prevent the farther progress of the evil. To this the princes replied, that they were well aware of the dangers to which they were exposed, and had, with a view to meet them, delivered to Campegio's predecessor a memorial of those grievances in the church establishment which they could no longer endure. All the world, they added, were apprised of their subjects of complaint, as they had caused their memorial to be printed.

Campegio could not pretend ignorance of the memorial, but he had no scruple in laying stress on the circumstance of the court of Rome having no official knowledge of it. The pope and cardinals had seen copies of it in the hands of individuals, and ascribed the printing of it to some enemy of the church, being unwilling to think that such a step could have been adopted by order of the princes. Some of their complaints were derogatory to the pope, and consequently heretical; but, in regard to those relating to other topics, he was willing, though without instructions, to make them the subject of a conference. A conference accordingly did take place, but it produced no other effect than a cold promise from the legate of a reform among the Germanic clergy. His plan, when it came to be examined, was found to contain only some regula-

tions for the inferior clergy, without including the higher dignitaries. Such indeed was its nature, that the Diet declared that instead of benefiting the condition of Germany, it would tend to increase her evils, and seemed fitted only to augment the influence of the holy see. The propositions which ensued were equally unavailing, and the parties separated in mutual disgust.*

The publication of the recess of the Diet took place on 18th April.† It was divided into two general heads, the first regarding Luther and his doctrine, the second treating of the dangers which threatened Germany. To meet these difficulties, the princes proposed that the pope, with the consent of the emperor, should assemble a free council in Germany, and that the Diet should meet at Spires on 11th November next, to consider what ought to be done until the convocation of the council. Meantime competent persons were to be chosen by different princes for the purpose of discussing the principal points treated in Luther's works; and the magistrates were to be enjoined to take care that the Gospel should be preached according to the doctrine of the writers approved by the church. All books and pictures which slandered the court of Rome, were to be suppressed. Such was, in substance, the resolution of the Diet.

Campegio after some remonstrance on the impropriety of laymen interfering in matters of faith and doctrine, consented to lay their views before

* See a full account of the proceedings of this Diet in Sleid. L. iv. Sarpi. L. i. and Seckend. 287. et seq.

† See it at length Luth. ii. 418. et seq.

the pope. However, he soon took a step at variance with this promise; for, after the breaking up of the Diet, he assembled those princes whom he knew to be favourable to his cause. These were Ferdinand the emperor's brother, William and Louis, princes of Bavaria, the archbishop of Saltzburg, the bishops of Trent, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Spires, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Bazil, Freysingen, Brixen, and Passau. The Reformation had taken such deep root at Nuremberg, and the adoption of counter-resolutions on the spot where the late Diet had been held would have been so indecorous, that it was thought advisable to assemble this new meeting at Ratisbon. But nothing further was attempted than to carry into effect the edict issued at Worms against Luther. His innovations were condemned anew, and the old established customs of the church were declared to be confirmed.

This irregular meeting, accounted by some an admirable stroke of policy, gave great offence to the absent members of the Diet. Nor was there any prospect of compliance on the part of the pope, with the request of the princes to assemble a general council. The popes have generally been extremely averse from resorting to this alternative. Clement was in the habit of saying that the assembling of a council would be always advantageous if they abstained from meddling with the power of the pope; but that, under present circumstances, such a measure was wholly unnecessary as Leo had already condemned Luther.*

* Sarpi. L. i.

Luther, having speedily obtained a copy of the recess published by the Diet, was strongly agitated by the conduct of the princes. With that disregard of consequences which so frequently marked his conduct, he instantly re-published the edict of Worms of eighth May, 1521, and, contrasting it with that of Nuremberg, had no hesitation to call the princes, "miserable, infatuated men, set over the people by God in his anger." He ridiculed the emperor's presumption in assuming, like the king of England and the king of Hungary, the title of "Defender of the Catholic faith," and he went the length of exhorting all Christians to pause in contributing their services or their money to a war with the Turks, "since the Sultan was far superior to the German princes in ability, integrity, and moderation."* A letter of this description must have been regretted by all the considerate part of Luther's friends, from the handle given by it to his enemies to accuse him of a departure from that moderation which he enjoined to others.

The pope meanwhile, exerted in private, all his influence with the emperor to counteract the resolution of the Diet as far as it regarded the assemblage of a general council. Charles was so much interested in detaching the court of Rome from connection with his great rival, Francis, that he did not hesitate to take a decided part against the Reformation. Accordingly, in the beginning of July, the emperor addressed a letter to the states of the empire, re-echoing the resolutions adopted at Ratisbon, and demanding a more peremptory on-

* Luth. T. ii. 413. et seq. Sleid. L. iv. Seckend. 291.

forcement of the edict of Worms. His letter was accompanied by a notice that he would not permit the Diet to assemble, as appointed, on 11th November, lest he should incur the wrath of God and the pope. Conscious, however, that he was attempting an exertion of power which might be found to exceed the limits of his prerogative, he transmitted this dispatch through the medium of his brother Ferdinand, and cautioned him not to produce it if he was apprehensive of serious opposition. Ferdinand, a bigotted Catholic, paid no attention to his brother's caution, and eagerly published a dispatch which he thought would have the effect of pledging the imperial authority to the condemnation of the Lutherans. The princes were greatly offended, but forbore to insist on holding a Diet at Spires. In their opposition to the execution of the edict of Worms they discovered greater firmness, and it accordingly remained little else than a dead letter throughout the greater part of Germany.*

The impolitic resistance of the pope to the wishes of the Diet disappointed many leading men in Germany, and made them the more eager to investigate the subjects of controversy. Nothing could be more

* There must have been a curious contrast between the real and ostensible disposition of the church of Rome towards Frederick. While affecting to lavish flattering epithets on him for his constancy to the Catholic faith, hopes were secretly entertained that the emperor might venture to declare him a heretic and deprive him of his electoral franchise. *Cum Saxoniæ electore, quia verborum blanditiâ nihil efficeretur, visum est severè procedendum, ut, pro hæretico habitus, Septemviratu dejiceretur.* Seckend. 288. The electors were then only seven in number.

favourable to the cause of the Lutherans, for, confident in the superiority of their arguments, examination was all they desired. During the sitting of the Diet at Nuremberg, the new doctrines had been publicly preached in that city. Albert, elector of Brandenburg, already favourably disposed toward them, was here made a thorough convert by the discourses of a preacher of the name of Andrew Osiander. Luther's works had met with a cordial reception from many persons in his electorate, and it deserves to be noticed that George von Polentz, a Prussian prelate, was the first Catholic bishop who recommended the perusal of Luther's works in his diocese. With this zealous convert Albert now co-operated, and commenced in good earnest the work of Reformation in his dominions.* Being master of the Teutonic Order, which, like the Order of Malta, is pledged to celibacy, Albert passed by Wittemberg and consulted Luther in regard to the necessity of adhering to this unnatural injunction. Luther's answer is recorded in one of his letters. "I advised Albert to despise that foolish rule, and to marry; as well as to reduce Prussia into the political shape either of a principality or a dukedom. Melancthon seconded what I said. He (Albert) smiled and made no reply, but I perceived that the advice was agreeable to him."

We are now to advert to a less pleasant topic—the differences between Luther and Carolostad. No good understanding had subsisted between them since Luther's return from his seclusion at Wart

* See Appendix E E.

burg. Those who, during the continuance of that confinement, had been attracted by the boldness of Carolostad's innovations, forsook him on hearing the disapproving discourses of Luther. The consequence was that Carolostad withdrew from Wittemberg and retired to Orlamunda, a village near Sala, where he was invested with a parochial charge. Though thus retired from the scene of active discussion, he was of too warm a temper to relinquish the assertion of his peculiar tenets. These related chiefly to an immediate disuse of images, and to the much disputed point of the sacrament. Luther attached too much consequence to these doctrines to remain silent under their propagation. Though he recommended the disuse of images, he dreaded the consequences of hasty attempts at their abolition. Besides, Carolostad's vehemence was ill calculated to permit the enjoyment of tranquillity to a mind so ardent as Luther's. Stimulated by these considerations, Luther repaired to Jena, where he understood there were several favourers of the obnoxious doctrine. Here he both preached and held a disputation against them. Unfortunately, the discourses on each side bore the stamp of the irritability of the leaders; and this abusive language was calculated to lower the cause of reform in the public estimation. However, when the alternative of convoking a synod was proposed to Luther, he had the good sense to decline it, and at last consented that he and his opponent should exercise mutual toleration, and maintain a spirit of Christian charity. He contented himself with addressing to the magistrates of the different cities of Germany

a spirited remonstrance against the indifference to learning recommended by Carolostad.*

It was nearly about this time that Luther wrote against the extraordinary innovations of Munster and the Anabaptists. His views in other respects continued to expand, and he ventured on ninth October, 1524, to lay aside his monastic habit and to assume the dress of a professor or preacher. His tenacious adherence to the opinions which he had once espoused, a feature in his character not generally understood, was strongly illustrated by the circumstances of this transaction; for it is a fact that all the Augustinians, with the single exception of the prior, had left the monastery before Luther could prevail on himself to adopt that resolution.

The advocates of papal authority, alarmed at the dissemination of the Reformed doctrine, and finding arbitrary edicts of little avail, now looked around for a literary champion who might be instrumental in stemming the current of revolution. Nor could they long remain in doubt as to the man, when there was a prospect of engaging Erasmus in the cause. Persons in the most celebrated stations, particularly Henry VIII. and pope Adrian, had urged this eminent scholar to enter the lists with Luther. To this however there were, on the part of Erasmus, considerable objections. He was conscious of the necessity of ecclesiastical reform and aware of the popularity of its advocates. He had already, as we have seen, expressed his approbation and his good wishes in regard to several of Luther's

* Seckend. 306.

publications. Unfortunately the wants of Erasmus were not sufficiently simple to render him independent of the assistance of the great. He was in the habit of receiving pensions from crowned heads, among others from our Henry VIII. who was at that time inveterate against Luther and eager to recommend himself to the papal see with the view of accelerating his divorce from Queen Catharine. Cardinal Wolsey, the organ of all his important communications, pressed Erasmus to write against Luther; and Tonstall, bishop of London, whose letter is still extant, urged him to the same effect.*

Prompted by these and other applications, Erasmus determined to embark in the Catholic cause. Too politic to deny the necessity of reform, he confined himself to an attempt at shaking Luther's high reputation by questioning his accuracy in speculative points. The particular topic of which he made choice was Luther's opinion on the "Freedom of the Will." Erasmus's treatise on this subject was published in September, 1524.† Though composed with studied moderation, we find him writing to England, a day or two after the publication, that he laid his account with a tumult, and perhaps with being stoned by the people. He would willingly have dedicated his work to his patron Wolsey, had not the notorious violence of that minister been calculated to create prepossessions unfavourable to the cause.

Elevated as Erasmus was in reputation, he was by no means tranquil in regard to the reception of

* Seckend. p. 809. Tonstall's letter was in July, 1523.

† De Libero Arbitrio. Erasm. Op.

his work. He dreaded the vindictive pen of Luther, and was doubtful of operating conviction on the minds of even the more temperate adherents of the Reformer. A letter written by him to Melancthon, sometime after his treatise came forth, is indicative of solicitude in these respects, as well as of no ordinary share of personal vanity. He augured right in laying his account with an answer in a decided tone from Luther. It appeared in a short time, and the adverse essays brought both these distinguished characters prominently before the public. But the subject was unfavourable to a display of their respective talents. It is in itself extremely difficult, and, from a reciprocal want of accuracy in definition, it received very little illustration at their hands. Both declare man an accountable creature, though they differ in the detail of their expositions. Their variance would have been less had they written with more precision of language. But Erasmus, though educated for the church, had been chiefly conversant with classical pursuits, and found himself out of his depth when involved in metaphysics. In regard to Luther, on the other hand, it is in vain that his zealous admirer, Seckendorff, exerts himself to prove that he was no predestinarian. He is desirous of imputing the origin of that doctrine to Calvin; but on comparing Luther's treatise with the more finished labours of the Geneva professor, we must come to the conclusion that the only difference seems to consist in the greater clearness and precision of the latter.*

* See Calvin's Institutions, L. iii. cap. 21, 22, 23, 24. They

If, in point of philosophical reasoning, Luther's treatise was uninteresting, it was, in another respect, abundantly emphatic—I mean in personal abuse of his antagonist. Nothing could be more mortifying to one who was exquisitely alive to whatever affected his favour with the public. Accordingly we find Erasmus making, some time after, a vehement remonstrance against Luther to the elector John, Frederick's successor, and entreating him to interfere to prevent Luther from indulging in a repetition of similar invectives. *Extat Erasmi autographon ad Johannem Elect. Sax. d. 2. Mart. datum, in quo incredibilem bilem effundit adversus Lutherum, a quo famam suam capitalibus mendaciis læsam esse queritur.**

A part of this year was passed by Luther in a manner much more profitable than controversy. He translated the psalms into German verse for the use of the common people, and added sacred hymns of his own composition. In the course of the work he invited the assistance of Spalatin and of another friend, named Dolzy, in regard to the versification; and for the composition of the tunes, of which he was an excellent judge, he engaged a person of the name of John Walther. His pains were amply rewarded, for his version became extremely popular.

The elector Frederick had now reached his sixty-third year. His constitution was undermined by

contain as good a defence of the doctrine of predestination as any that is before the public.

* Seckend. p. 312.

severe complaints, and he closed a life of great public utility on fifth May, 1525. His protection, though in Luther's opinion sometimes too cautiously bestowed, was all along steady and effectual. He was found to perform more than he promised, and to adhere firmly to the Reformer under the most alarming circumstances. The funeral of this lamented prince was conducted under the direction of Luther and Melancthon. They were allowed to omit all the ceremonies of the church of Rome. The place of interment was the church of All Saints at Wittemberg. Melancthon delivered a Latin oration over the grave, and Luther preached a sermon from the text (1 Thessalonians, iv. 13.) "Brethren concerning them which are asleep, sorrow not, even as others which have no hope."

Prince John, Frederick's successor, was a good deal different in character from his brother. Without possessing equal depth of reflection, his temper was much keener and his determinations more promptly taken. Frederick's great care had been to restrain the haste of the Reformers and to trust to the operation of a gradual progress. But John was actuated by no such backwardness, and had no objection to become the ready instrument of carrying their speculations into effect. The character of Frederick was evidently best fitted to foster and give strength to a beginning cause; that of John was suitable to a season when it had attained considerable growth and had become independent of such tender cares. The death of Frederick was to the Catholics a matter of great exultation; but their hopes were soon disappointed, and, all things

taken together, it may be inferred that the cause of reform prospered as much under John as if his brother's life had been prolonged.

The death of Frederick was nearly cotemporary with the formidable insurrection in Germany, known by the name of the "war of the peasants." The condition of this humble class of the community was still deplorable throughout great part of the empire. In some places they were subject to personal and domestic slavery, and liable to be transferred, like any other vendible property, from one master to another. Even in quarters where their liberty was less restrained, they cultivated land under conditions of great hardship. To these were now added the imposition of taxes on several of the necessaries and comforts of life. Driven to despair, they took up arms to obtain a redress of their grievances. The first commotions appeared in Suabia, and soon spread to the north amid the converts to the Reformation. It happened in this, as in other insurrections, that the multitude, once roused, knew not where to stop. They went beyond all bounds, and seemed to aim at an absolute equality of persons and property. The elector John, along with the landgrave of Hesse and duke of Brunswick, found it necessary to assemble a military force against them. Having succeeded in surrounding them, the princes endeavoured to quell the insurrection by amicable negociation. But the infatuation of the peasants and of their leader Muncer, rendering this impracticable, it was necessary to resort to the painful alternative of assault. Several thousands fell in the field, and their leader

being taken, the rebellion was finished by one blow.*

The enemies of Luther laboured greatly to throw the odium of this insurrection on him and his doctrine. But though the insurgents became, in the progress of the commotion, enthusiastic opponents of the church of Rome, and held some tenets in common with Luther, this coincidence is to be viewed as a secondary and collateral circumstance, which had no influence on the origin of the sedition. The insurgents asserted that Luther had by no means done justice to the cause of freedom; while he, on the other hand, employed the whole force of his eloquence to convince the peasants of the criminality of their conduct, and to prevent others from co-operating with them. In a work addressed expressly to them he strongly recommended forbearance by his own example: "The pope and the emperor have raged against me, but it has turned out, in consequence of my patience, that the more violent they have been, the wider has been the diffusion of the Gospel. I have exercised no revenge. I have never caused the sword to be drawn from the scabbard. The power of magistrates I have supported as far as I was able, even of those who have persecuted the Gospel and me. I have committed all to God and put my reliance in his power and protection. God hath accordingly preserved me in life, in spite of the pope and all my enemies, which is looked on as a miracle by many and acknowledged as such by myself. But you have now interposed

* Sleid. L. v. and Seckend. L. ii. from p. 1 to 15, have given an ample account of this war.

unseasonably, and in wishing to promote the gospel by violence, you are not aware that you impede its progress."

We have next to record an event in Luther's history, which, while it had a powerful influence on his personal comfort, was calculated to excite in no small degree the surprize of the public. We have seen him relinquish, step by step, the prejudices and habits of his early years; raising his voice first against the grosser abuses of the church, and subsequently questioning her fundamental doctrines. In that discussion, which more immediately affected himself, the obligation of the monastic vow, we have observed him begin by lamenting the premature age at which such engagements were undertaken; proceeding, in the next place, to sanction the relinquishment of the pledge in other persons, and finally withdrawing from the fraternity himself. He now went a farther length, and determined to settle himself in marriage. This step, remarkable in itself on the part of one who had sworn celibacy, was rendered still more so by the existence of a similar obligation on the part of her whom he espoused. Among the nuns who escaped from the convent of Nimptschen, was one Catherine de Bora or Boria. It appears that soon after the time of the evasion Luther had conceived an attachment to her, but repressed a feeling which he found it difficult to justify. His change of opinion, however, removed this as well as other scruples, and, after mature reflexion, he addressed the object of his affection, and entered on the married state. The step was taken without consulting his friends at

Wittemberg. Some, he apprehended, might object to it on religious considerations, while others might pronounce it unseasonable at a time when the country was agitated by popular insurrection. Be this as it may, Luther appears to have been determined to take the whole responsibility on himself. It was an act, we must confess, of considerable boldness; for independently of the objection in public opinion, few individuals were less fitted to make provision for a family. His friend and well wisher, Albert, elector of Brandenburg, had advised him to set up, for this purpose, a school or academy. But Luther was ill qualified to bear the necessary constraint, and chose rather to live in a very plain manner; prescribing the greatest simplicity in regard to the wants of himself and those about him, and submitting to much that would have appeared privation in the eyes of others.

The advocates of the church of Rome poured out the most vehement declamations against Luther on the occasion of his marriage with a nun. Some affirmed that he was mad, or possessed with an evil spirit.* Our Henry VIII. had no scruple in accusing Luther of a crime equivalent to incest, forgetting how open to reprehension his own conduct was in respect to matrimony. Seckendorff has entered into a long detail of the circumstances of this affair, but his narrative is chiefly valuable by containing an ample letter on the subject from Melancthon to his friend Camerarius.† In this epistle, Melancthon, declining as unnecessary the vindication of Luther

* Sleid. L. v. † Seckend. L. ii. 17.

against popular prejudice, represents him as impelled, like most other men, to take the measure which he did, by powerful affection for the object.

The elector John now consented to take steps to make the Lutheran the predominant religion in his dominions. Though the majority of his subjects were favourably inclined to it, the change was too great to be effected otherwise than by degrees. The university of Wittemberg being accounted the fountain head of theological instruction, Luther prevailed on the elector to increase his patronage to it, as well as to augment the supply of preachers by encouraging schools of learning in other places. He and his friends, Melancthon and Pomeranus, now ventured to introduce some changes in the form of worship, among which the use of the German language in administering the sacrament was the most remarkable. About this time also, Luther published a commentary on the book of Deuteronomy. His controversy with Carolostad, being unfortunately revived, attracted the attention of Ulric Zwinglius, the famous Swiss reformer, a writer second to none of his cotemporaries in talents or purity of intention. Zwinglius espoused the side of Carolostad, and did not hesitate to attack Luther's opinion. We shall have occasion to enter afterwards more into the particulars of the dispute; at present, suffice it to remark, that, eminent as the controversialists were, the discussion failed in producing conviction on either part, and tended only to display that acrimony and improper freedom which characterised the writings of the age.

A singular exchange of epistolary composition

took place this year between Luther and Henry VIII. of England. Reports having been circulated of a favourable change in Henry's religious creed, the friends of Luther, and, in particular Christiern, king of Denmark, were of opinion that the Reformer ought to make up for his former virulence by a respectful overture. From this Luther was the less averse, because he was of opinion that Henry was not the author of the book which went under his name.* But if Luther was so far amicably disposed, no man could be more deficient in the precaution necessary for managing a delicate negociation. The plan he took was to address, without much previous inquiry, a letter to Henry, mentioning that persons, worthy of credit, had assured him that the book published under his majesty's name was not of his composition, and seemed to be the production of some crafty sophist. Imagining that Wolsey had had the chief hand in that publication, he alludes to him in the severest terms, and goes so far as to style him "a monster, and object of the hatred of God and man." Under this impression, Luther declared he had no objection to retract what he had written, and to express himself respectfully of his Majesty, subjoining in one short proposition what he considered the cardinal point of Christian doctrine.† The rejoinder from England, however, soon showed that Luther was ill informed about Henry's disposition, and injudicious in the

* Certissimum est istum libellum ab ipso rege nequaquam esse conscriptum; tamen adeo me non latuit autor ejus, quin ipsum sua ipsius verba prodant. Luth. T. ii. p. 494.

† Luth. T. ii. 493. Sleid. L. vi. Seckend. L. ii. 37, 38.

manner of addressing him. The influence of Wolsey was not yet shaken, and the answer partook of the violence both of the sovereign and minister. Luther, nowise discouraged, soon printed a reply to this royal epistle and entitled it "*Maledici et contumeliosi scripti regis Angliæ responsio.*" In this he laboured, with considerable success, to free himself from the charge of inconsistency in his behaviour towards Henry, and retorted, with redoubled violence, the abusive epithets of the monarch. A correspondence, similar in some degree, took place this year between Luther and George, duke of Saxony;* but it was productive of no other serious consequence than an altercation between the elector John and the Duke.

Toward the end of 1525 an attempt, it was said, was intended to be made to cut off Luther by poison. The rumour was that a Polish Jew of the medical profession had undertaken to perpetrate the deed for a reward of two thousand crowns. In consequence of the suspicion of some of Luther's friends, the Jew and several other persons were arrested at Wittemberg, but, on their examination, nothing could be discovered, and Luther interceded that they might not be put to the torture. They were accordingly set at liberty.

* Luth. T. ii. 488. Sleid. L. vi. Seckend. L. ii. 38.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE YEAR 1526 TO 1537.

IN the beginning of 1526, the Protestants had the satisfaction of seeing Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, follow the example of the elector John, of Saxony, and declare the Lutheran the established religion of his dominions. The support of these and other princes, joined to the accession of the free cities of Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Hamburgh, now made the progress of the Reformation the most interesting event in the situation of Germany. The negotiations and disputes of which it was productive became numerous and complicated, and lead naturally to a change in the plan of our narrative. Hitherto Luther had been not only the origin but the main spring of the opposition to the papacy; but the range which it now embraced was too wide to be directed by the exertions of an individual. The farther progress of this opposition belongs, therefore, to general history, and would be wholly misplaced in a biographical relation. The remainder of our work will accordingly be, in a great measure, confined to the private events of Luther's life, and our account of the succeeding years will be comprised in a comparatively smaller space. This brevity of detail is promoted likewise by the tranquil

nature of several of his occupations, much of his time being employed in finishing and correcting his translation of the Bible.

Luther had divided this stupendous labour into three parts; the books of Moses, the subsequent history of the Jews, and lastly, the prophetical and other books of the Old Testament. In December, 1523, we find him writing to a friend that he had finished the second of these divisions, and was proceeding to the third, the greatest and most difficult. In March, 1524, he was busily employed with the Book of Job, and complained of his task to Spalatin in ludicrous terms. "We find so much difficulty," he said, "from the sublimity of the style, that Job seems a great deal more impatient of our translation than of the consolation of his friends, or he would certainly have sat for ever on the dunghill; unless perhaps its author meant that it should never be translated. This has been the cause of the great delay of the press."

The version of the "Prophets" did not begin to appear till 1527, and in completing this part of his task, Luther received benefit from the assistance of some Jews of the city of Worms. The Book of Isaiah was printed in 1528; Daniel followed soon after, and in 1530 the whole was completed. His chief coadjutors in this noble undertaking were Bugenhagen, better known by the name of Pomeranus, Justus Jonas, Melancthon, and Matthew, surnamed Aurogallus. There were, likewise, other persons by whose aid he was benefited in regard to detached portions of his translation. In a labour of such length and difficulty, the name of the cor-

rector of the press has a claim to be mentioned; he was called George Rorar, or, agreeably to the pedantic fashion of the times, Rorarius. Luther's occupation did not end with the completion of the translation. He underwent the labour of revising the whole for a new edition, which was published in 1534, and was followed by impressions still farther amended, in the years 1541 and 1545. Like our own translation of the Bible, Luther's was accounted remarkably pure for the age; and it long remained in Germany a kind of standard for prose composition.

The year 1526 was the first since 1517 that Luther allowed to pass without publishing a book against the Catholics. In another way, however, he carried on a warfare calculated to shake the powerful hold which that superstition naturally takes of the faith of the lower orders. He published a series of wood-cuts representing the pope, cardinals, and bishops, along with nearly sixty different orders of monks and religious knights. To each of these homely portraits he subjoined rhymes explanatory of the origin of their names, and descriptive of their peculiar habits. To this curious compilation he added a preface and epilogue.* A more serious task consisted in writing commentaries on Jonah and Habakkuk, which, along with some lesser pieces of Scripture criticism, he published in the course of the year.

Another topic, to which the increasing freedom of inquiry drew the public attention, was the ques-

* Seckend. L. ii. 51.

tion, whether it was "lawful for a Christian to go to war." It deserves to be remarked that the papal court never thought it necessary, during the many centuries that it had governed Christendom, to agitate a question so interesting to humanity. Luther entered on the discussion at some length, and was of opinion, that, in a general view, war was lawful; but he made several important distinctions and limitations, the sum of which amounted to the simple proposition, that the lawfulness of hostility depended altogether on the justice of the cause.

The Imperial Diet assembled at Midsummer at the city of Spires, and the pressure of business was such as to require the attendance of the elector John during several months. Luther continued occupied in plans for the progress of the Reformation, which were to be submitted to the elector as soon as more urgent business permitted him to give them his attention.—An unfortunate event, which took place this year, tended to show the strength of Luther's attachment to his favourite city and university. A pestilential disorder, after raging for some time in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, became so serious, that the professors and students were ordered to remove to Jena. Luther, however, ventured to refuse a compliance with the order, though proceeding from the elector. Agreeably to his usual practice he published the reasons of his conduct.* In a case like this of serious danger, it would be difficult to vindicate such a mode of acting; but if we must admit Luther to have been wrong, it is but

* Seckend. p. 85, 86.

just to add, that he by no means remained from a pride of braving danger, or from a silly expectation that he was the object of the peculiar care of Providence. His friend, Pomeranus, and the deacons of the church of Wittemberg, thought proper to follow his example and to remain at their station.

The courage thus displayed by Luther will appear to many readers a singular contrast to what we are now going to mention. He who was so bold in asserting the cause of Christianity, and so fearless of personal danger in its promotion, was, not unfrequently, sunk in despondency, and was doubtful even whether he was a real Christian. In a letter to his friend Justus Jonas, dated 26th December, 1526, he entreats him to "offer up his prayers that Christ may not desert him nor reject him from among the number of the faithful." * "*Non cessa pro me orare, ut Christus me non deserat nec sinat esse impiorum quos sentio, sed filiorum; ne deficiat fides mea in finem.*" *

The correction of abuses in the church of Saxony had long been an object very near his heart. At last, in 1527, the elector consented to appoint visitors invested with power to make inquiry into the personal conduct of the clergy, as well as into the other departments of church discipline. Among these visitors Luther held a conspicuous place. Their labours were not limited to the correction of temporary abuses, but formed the basis of permanent provisions for the Saxon church. The regulations founded on their visitation embraced the

* Seckend. L. ii. 80.

church revenue, the ritual of worship, and the situation of the clergy generally. The report was drawn up by Melancthon, and though Luther's name was not introduced in it, there can be no doubt, from the filial regard entertained for him by Melancthon, that he was consulted upon every point of importance. The elector, John, lost no time in carrying the recommendations of the memorial into effect.*

Next year, 1528, Luther published his commentary on Genesis and Zachariah, as well as a letter to the bishop of Misnia, respecting the Eucharist. He had also a renewal with Zwinglius of the never-ending controversy on that subject.—It happened somewhat unexpectedly that the measures of the Diet held the year before at Spires, had been favourable to the Lutherans. This had been owing to the distracted situation of the emperor's affairs, and particularly to his dissension with the pope, who had allied himself for a season with Francis I. A change, however, having taken place in the politics of the court of Rome, Charles determined to direct his attention anew to the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany, and to manage them to the satisfaction of Clement VII. with whom he was now closely connected.

The Diet met again at Spires on 15th March, 1529, and the majority, influenced by the emperor, proceeded to declare a repeal of the resolutions of the former Diet. But the Protestant princes of the empire had now gained strength and confidence enough to prevent their being intimidated either by

* Seckend. L. ii. 106, 107.

the emperor's will, or by the numerical superiority of Catholic votes. The court of Rome, aware of the desire of the friends of the Reformation for the convocation of a general Council, determined to amuse them by holding out the expectation of it. With this view a proposition was brought forward at the Diet to delay all innovations in religion until the meeting of a general Council.

Had the Lutherans put confidence in their opponents, they would have had little hesitation in acceding to the offer. But the known temper of the pope, his recent treaty with the emperor, and the long established maxims of the court of Rome, prevented them from placing any reliance on the promise of a Council. By dint of the superior numbers on the emperor's side, the proposition against innovations was carried, but a protest was entered by the dissentients on the 19th April, which procured to the reformed the name of Protestants, and will be for ever memorable in the history of Christianity.* The names of the princes who thus stood boldly forward deserve to be recorded. They were John, elector of Saxony, George, elector of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Luneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt. They were joined by fourteen of the principal cities of Germany, viz. Strasburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Reutlinghen, Windzheim, Memminghen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Isny, Weissemburg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall. This spirited measure appears to have given considerable disquie-

* Sleid. L. vi. Seckend. L. ii. 130.

tude to Ferdinand, who represented his brother Charles at the Diet. He withdrew from Spires before the protest was given in; but the princes, nowise shaken in their resolution, drew up and published a formal narrative of the whole transaction. During the agitation of this affair, the elector, John, was in the habit of making frequent communications to Luther; and Melancthon, who attended that prince at Spires, was probably the writer of the narrative which I have mentioned.

The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, zealous in the cause of the Reformation, spared no pains to establish a good understanding between Luther and the Zwinglians. In conformity with the custom of the age, the best method of accomplishing this seemed to be by a public disputation. A meeting of that kind was accordingly appointed between the Swiss and German champion. The beginning of October was fixed on as the time, and Marpurg, a city in the landgrave's dominions, as the scene of debate.* Luther, still as poor as at the outset of his career, received a new suit of clothes from the elector of Saxony, and repaired to Marpurg, along with Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and other friends. Zwinglius was attended by Ocolampadius of Basil, and joined on the road, at Strasburg, by his friends Bucer and Hedio. The disputation that ensued is thus described in a letter from Justus Jonas:†

"We reached Marpurg on 26th September, and were received by the prince of Hesse, not only in a

* Sleid. L. vi. Maimb. L. ii. 1529. Seckend. L. ii. 136.
† Seckend. ii. 139.

polite but in a courteous manner. Lodgings had been provided for us in the city, but the prince having changed his mind, received us in the castle and entertained us at his own table. On the first October, by direction of the prince, the leaders on both sides had a private conference, Luther with Ocolampadius, and Melancthon with Zwinglius; but they could come to no agreement. Next day, Saturday, the disputation began. It was not altogether public, but there were present, in addition to those who had accompanied the disputants, the prince, his courtiers and chief counsellors. On the one side were Zwinglius, Ocolampadius, Bucer, Hedio, Jacob Sturm, a senator of Strasburg,* Ulric Funch, a senator of Zurich, and Rudolphus Frey, of Basil. On the other, Luther, Melancthon, Eberhard, Thane of Issenach, myself, Caspar Cruciger, and others. Luther, Melancthon, Ocolampadius, and Zwinglius, were seated at a table before the prince and the other courtiers. In the early part of the debate Ocolampadius pressed hard, and continued the argument almost for two days, 'that Christ had but one body, which was in heaven, and that no real body could be at the same time in more places than one.' He also relied much on the spiritual eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood in John vi. But Luther declared that he would not allow the plain words of our Saviour to be distorted. They were, in his opinion, simple and unambiguous —'this is *my* body;' and again the words of Paul,

* This was the person who assisted Sleidan in the composition of his great work.

'I have *received* of the Lord.' His opponents, however, affirmed that this was nothing else than begging the question, and the contest was very keen on this point. On Sunday, third October, the disputation was continued, in the hope of an amicable understanding; but it was fruitlessly protracted till evening, and both parties separated in a pertinacious adherence to their own opinions; nor do I think we are at all likely to agree on the nature of the Lord's supper. To day, (fourth October) the prince attempted to produce an uniformity of sentiment by the interference of his counsellors and learned men, but it would not do.—I shall now say a few words on the disposition and talents of each. Zwinglius is somewhat rude and forward in his manner; Ocolampadius is remarkable for mild temper; Hedio is equally distinguished for humanity and liberality, but Bucer has all the cunning of a fox. They are all men of real learning, and in comparison with them, the Catholics are not worthy to be accounted adversaries. Zwinglius, however, I cannot help thinking, is learned *against the grain.*"

Such is the representation of Jonas; but in receiving from him a character of Zwinglius and Bucer, we shall do well to keep in mind that he was a keen Lutheran. Both parties, as usual, claimed the victory. However, the dispositions which they discovered toward each other, were much less hostile than was common at such disputations, a circumstance owing, in great measure, to the judicious arrangements of the landgrave. A curious proof of this is given in the care taken to avoid a collision between two such fiery combatants as Luther and

Zwinglius, by classing them respectively with a mild opponent. It had been reported that Zwinglius entertained erroneous notions of the divinity of Christ and of original sin; but his explanation, when communicated, was admitted as perfectly satisfactory. Other points also were discussed at this meeting, and there was no material difference except as to the Eucharist.

Various plans were at this time in contemplation, to form a confederacy for the purpose of repelling the force which Charles threatened to employ against the Protestants. But neither were the minds of men sufficiently prepared for so serious a measure, nor were the reformed agreed in regard to the preliminary question of the legality of taking up arms in such a cause. Luther, in particular, was adverse to the idea, and, on being consulted by the elector of Saxony, declared that he would rather suffer death ten times than be the cause of commencing a war in defence of the Gospel.*

A task much more congenial to Luther's disposition, was the composition and publication of a catechism, which long retained its popularity, and is, even at present, used for the purpose of instilling into youth the first principles of religion. He strongly urged the necessity of private as well as of public instruction, and dwelt on the obligation on masters of families to interrogate their children and servants, particularly on Sundays. "I also," he added, "am a doctor and a preacher, perhaps as learned and expert as those who rashly and frivo-

* Seckend. ii. 141.

lously despise these things: I, however, imitate the example of the boys who are learning their catechisms, and once a day, either in the morning, or whenever I have leisure, I repeat, word by word, the decalogue, the Lord's prayer, and several of the Psalms."

The success of the Turkish arms on the side of Hungary had spread considerable alarm, not only in the neighbouring country but throughout Germany. Luther, determined to come forward and exhort his countrymen to oppose this formidable foe. In the early part of his career, he had gone so far as to hazard the assertion, "that to fight against the Turks was to resist God, who was punishing us for our iniquities by their hostility." This expression, which escaped him under the smart of provocation, he now found it necessary to retract. He was still of opinion that, as Christians, his countrymen were not commanded to fight, but the Turk and the pope were, he said, the only two who attempted to disseminate their tenets by the sword. He added, that to "expose the former, he should one day publish a German version of the Koran."

Meantime Charles, having finally composed his differences with the pope, and been solemnly crowned by his hands, had pledged himself to use every endeavour to accomplish the extirpation of the Protestants in Germany. He had given a secret promise to the pontiff to oppose the assembling of a Council. He now, in 1530, called a meeting of the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, to deliberate on the Turkish war, and on the state of religion in Germany. By this time the Protestants were persuaded

that it was necessary to present to the Diet a clear account of the doctrines which they maintained, as considerable ignorance prevailed in regard to them. So early therefore as 14th March, the elector of Saxony, having received a summons to attend the Diet, expressed his wish to Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, and Pomeranus, that they would transmit to him at Torgau, where he then was, a statement of those articles of the Protestant faith which they considered as of the greatest importance, and which it behoved them, as Christians, publicly to maintain. The declaration was to be drawn so as to avoid giving unnecessary offence, and it was to be sent to him without delay. This Luther readily accomplished, comprising the articles of religion under seventeen heads, and transmitting them to the elector at Torgau, from which circumstance they are generally called the articles of Torgau. Their titles were as follows:

"1. God and the Holy Trinity. 2. The incarnation of Christ. 3. The passion. 4. Original sin. 5. Justification. 6. The nature of justifying faith. 7. The preaching of the Gospel. 8. Sacraments. 9. Baptism. 10. The Eucharist. 11. Private confession. 12. The Catholic church. 13. The last judgment. 14. The power of the magistrate. 15. The prohibition of marriage and of the eating of flesh. 16. The abrogation of the mass. 17. Religious ceremonies." These articles had been agreed on the year before at Sultzbach, and they were destined to form, as we shall see presently, the basis of a more extended and important declaration.

The elector, John, aware that religious discussions would occupy a large share of the attention of the Diet, determined to take with him several eminent theologians, whose advice would enable him to be of advantage to the cause of the Reformation. Accordingly Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, and John Agricola, who was in the train of Albert, count of Mansfeld, were selected, along with Spalatin, as his counsellors on this important occasion. From political reasons it was deemed unadvisable that Luther should enter Augsburg, and he was accordingly left at Cobourg, in Franconia. Here he resided in the castle, and was at a convenient distance to be consulted by his friends on any emergency. After having been proscribed by the Diet of Worms, the Reformer might not only have exposed himself to unnecessary danger by entering Augsburg, but his appearance before the emperor would have looked like setting his authority at defiance. The whole plan had been concerted with the concurrence of Luther,* a circumstance which seems a sufficient answer to those who would gladly ascribe his being left behind to a sense of the untractability of his temper.

The Protestant princes had now received such an accession to their courage, that in passing through the different cities of Germany, on their way to Augsburg, they caused the ministers in their train to preach regularly before them. On arriving at Augsburg, they continued desirous of being indulged in this important privilege. But Charles

* Maimb. L. ii. Seckend. L. ii. 152.

was prevailed on by the popish agents to discourage this reasonable expectation. Luther's advice being asked by the Protestants, he recommended that a petition should be presented to the emperor, but that if the point was not amicably conceded, it should not be farther insisted on. This moderate counsel, combined with other incidents in Luther's life, furnishes a proof of the singular union of impatience and forbearance which entered into the composition of his character.

It was at this Diet that the Protestants presented the celebrated declaration known by the name of the Augsburg confession. It extended to the length of twenty-eight chapters, and contained both an enumeration of the doctrine of the reformed, and an exposition of the errors of the church of Rome. It proceeded from the pen of Melancthon, and was an expansion of the seventeen articles drawn up in a compressed form by Luther.*

Luther, while residing at Cobourg, suffered several attacks of ill health, but nothing could relax his application to his studies. He employed his time in the translation of the Books of the Prophets, and in composing his Commentary on the Psalms. From the fatigue of these graver employments he sought relaxation in composing an admonition to the clergy assembled at Augsburg, which he thought proper to send to that city to be printed. It was entitled,

* See for a full account of every thing connected with this "Confession," Celestine's History of the Augsburg Diet, published in 1577; also Chytræus, who wrote expressly an account of this test of orthodoxy. See likewise Seckendorff on the year 1530.

"*Admonitio ad Ecclesiastici ordinis congregatos in Comitiis Augustanis.*" As a further amusement, he passed a part of his time in writing satirical letters to his friends, and in making a translation of "Æsop's Fables." But whether his occupations were serious or playful, he made it a rule to pass a considerable time of each day in the exercises of devotion. Thus, though alone and absent both from his family and his literary associates, he felt nothing of the languor of inactivity or solitude. He kept his mind steadily occupied with one thing or another, and found, in this constant application, the best solace for the disquietude inseparable from a cause in which such powerful interest was set at work in opposition to his wishes.

The proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg were such as to put the patience and courage of the Protestants to the test. All their efforts were unable to counteract the effects of the connection between Charles and the pope, joined to the bigoted attachment of many members of the Diet to the church. There was reason to apprehend that ere long hostile measures might be employed against them. Under this impression, the Protestant princes, although reluctant to resort to force, felt the necessity of holding frequent communications for the purpose of cementing their union and of apprizing their enemies of their strength. Hence the origin of the meetings which were subsequently held at Smalcald and Frankfort. In all these transactions, Luther took a lively interest, and his enemies went so far as to declare him the advocate of disobedience to the Imperial authority. On this, Luther had recourse to

his usual medium of vindication, the press. To Charles, as a civil ruler, he professed all lawful submission, but farther he could not go. No authority, however elevated, could bind him to obey mandates which were immoral and unjust, a description fully applicable, in his opinion, to orders hostile to the reformed doctrine.

The resistance thus justified in religious matters, was not very remote from the display of a similar spirit in regard to civil government. It is accordingly to the Reformation that Europe, and particularly our own country, are indebted for the chief part of the liberty which they enjoy. Before the age of Luther, resistance on the part of the people to peremptory commands of the executive power was a thing unknown throughout almost all Europe. The share of freedom enjoyed in earlier ages had been confined to the aristocracy, and had been greatly abridged by the successive usurpations of the throne and the altar.

In the course of the year 1531, a reconciliation took place between the elector John and duke George, an event which excited the most lively sensations of joy throughout the whole of Saxony. The severity of Luther's language to the duke being strongly in the recollection of the elector, his chancellor received it in charge to warn Luther against giving the duke any fresh provocations. The chancellor having made the communication in writing, soon received an answer from the Reformer. It bore the marks of a remembrance of past injury, and was expressed as follows:

"I have many reasons to be dissatisfied with duke

George, but I will not wantonly write against him. Nay, in order that peace and concord may be maintained between the elector and duke, I will pardon all that the latter has done against me, on condition of his creating me no new cause of uneasiness, and of leaving me at liberty to answer my other adversaries." *

Luther was too much occupied with clerical duty to publish much in the course of this year. He supplied at Wittemberg the place of his friend Pomeranus, and did duty not only on Sundays but on Wednesdays and Saturdays. His attention was likewise diverted from any thing in the shape of controversy, by the death of his mother, which took place this year. He loved her tenderly, and had addressed to her, in her illness, a letter of condolence, which he afterwards printed. Her death, however, took place in the course of nature, and the loss thus sustained was confined to a private circle. But the public was destined to suffer a loss of a different kind—the loss of Zwinglius and Ocolampadius. Zwinglius fell in the field of battle on the 11th October, when, according to the ancient custom of the inhabitants of Zurich, he, as chief magistrate, led on his countrymen to action. He was left on the spot where he fell, and his barbarous enemies treated his dead body with great indignity. He was in the vigour of life, being four years younger than Luther. Ocolampadius was a few years older, having reached the age of forty-nine. His affection for Zwinglius was of the most

* Seckend. L. iii. p. 16.

tender and ardent kind. His health had for some time been indifferent, but the loss of his excellent friend rendered irremediable a malady which till then had been only doubtful, and affected him so deeply, that after becoming progressively worse and worse, he expired on the 1st December.

During the following year, 1532, Luther published commentaries on different portions of Scripture. It was now that he was destined to lose a valuable friend and protector in the person of John, elector of Saxony, who expired of apoplexy on 16th August, being cut off, like his brother Frederick, in his sixty-third year. Luther and Melancthon were sent for, on his being struck with the fatal complaint, but they arrived only in time to see him at the point of death.* His conduct proved him a warm friend to the cause of the Reformation, and his personal attachment to Luther was equally strong. He was accustomed to sooth the Reformer's mind when in distress, and to desire him to forbear anxiety about his wife and children, declaring that he would make provision for them as for his own.

The death of the elector John put a period to the short harmony between his government and that of his relation duke George. The Reformation had never been openly suffered to spread in the duke's dominions, and its secret progress was a source of the greatest jealousy to him. But to arrest its extension, or to recall the converts to the church, exceeded his power, zealous as he was. Some per-

* Seckend. L. iii. p. 30. Mosh. Vol. iii. 360.

sons, who found the restraints imposed on the exercise of their mode of worship extremely inconvenient, determined to remove to a quarter where they might have it in their power to serve God and receive the ordinances of Christ according to their conscience. To enjoy this liberty, they forsook their home and repaired to the neighbouring territory of the elector. Others had been sent from their residence by the duke's order. Luther, affected with the restraint imposed on those who remained at Leipsic, had written to them consolatory letters, but perceiving that gentle means were not likely to obtain a favourable change in the duke's treatment, he determined to break silence and to hold up the duke to public odium.* This, as usual, he performed with unrelenting severity, and had no hesitation in declaring him an "apostle of the devil." So extraordinary a charge enraged the duke exceedingly, and produced an application to the regency of the electorate for an interposition of their authority to prevent a recurrence of similar invectives. To sooth the duke's rage, Luther was called upon either to make an apology, or to assign the reason for applying such odious language to a prince, the near relation of the house of Saxony. As usual, Luther returned a prompt answer to the demand. But the defence was, if possible, worse than the accusation, because he exhibited, without reserve, his reasons for conceiving the title exactly applicable to the duke. It was not, he said, as a civil ruler, but as

* George had banished from Leipsic about eighty citizens with their wives and children. The date of Luther's letter was 4th October, 1532.

persecutor of the church of Christ, that he had ventured to make him the object of such language. The series of arguments in support of this ungracious distinction were of the most downright and provoking description. The duke was not of a disposition to suffer in silence, and a controversy arose which was protracted to a considerable length.*

Though Zwinglius and Ocolampadius were no more, the never-ending discussions about the sacrament occupied this year a considerable share of Luther's attention. It was in vain that Bucer attempted to persuade him that the difference was more in words than in reality. Luther had very little idea of conceding even a point of form for the mere sake of conciliation, and in none of his opinions was he more pertinacious than in this. Truly might he say to his friendly antagonist, Bucer, "*Quicquid dico in hac summâ Eucharistiæ causâ, ex corde dico.*"† Bucer, however, continued a staunch adherent to the Reformation, and was of the most essential service in stopping the progress of controversy on this point as well in Germany as elsewhere.

The subject which now chiefly engaged the public attention was the expected call of a general Council. The reformed were solicitous for the measure, in the hope of reducing the prerogative of the pontiff, while the moderate and well-intentioned part of the Catholics looked to it as the means of stopping the farther progress of schism. The majority of

* Sleid. L. ix. Seckend. L. iii. from p. 55 to p. 59.

† Seckend. L. iii. 62.

the Germanic body considered it the only effectual method for the preservation of peace, and had made repeated applications for it to the court of Rome. After many delays, the unsteady and irresolute Clement VII. at last declared his assent to the long expected convocation. Whether he was sincere in this declaration, or, as is more probable, meant only an apparent concession to the wish of the German Diet, the occurrence of his death, in the midst of the negotiation, has left a matter of uncertainty. Alexander Farnese, to whom Clement had, in a manner, bequeathed the pontificate, succeeded him without opposition, and assumed the name of Paul III. Being descended of a Roman family, his accession was matter of great joy to the inhabitants of that city, who, during three centuries, had been ruled by strangers. Paul proceeded, or affected to proceed, on the plan of making arrangements for the convocation of a Council. But as the reformed were now too numerous to be refused access to the Council, Paul determined, as a preliminary step, to dispatch a confidential person to confer with their leading men. His nuncio in Germany, Peter Paul Verger, a native of Istria, and a favourite of Paul's predecessor, was chosen for this commission. This person proceeded to Wittemberg to meet Luther. The interview was, as might be expected, not a little remarkable. Of the various accounts which have been given of it, Seckendorff's bears the greatest appearance of truth. It will be found a very amusing recital, and we give it nearly in that author's own words.

"When the pope's nuncio reached Wittemberg

on 6th November, 1535, with a suite travelling on twenty horses, he was conducted, with all due respect, into the castle by the prefect of the province. Next day, Sunday, Luther ordered his barber to be sent for at an early hour, and on seeing the man surprised at the call, he said jocularly, that he was invited to visit the pope's nuncio, and was unwilling to appear before him in a slovenly dress.—If properly equipped, he might have a chance to be thought younger than he was, and thus alarm his opponents by the prospect of living a long time. Having dressed himself in his best suit, he put round his neck an ornament, which he had probably received as a present from the elector. His barber being surprised at this, and remarking that it would give offence, Luther declared, "That is the very reason for my putting it on. The pope's adherents have not been sparing of offence to us, and this is the way to treat serpents and foxes." Having stepped into a carriage along with Pomeranus, who had been sent from the castle, he observed, in the same vein of humour, "Here sit the pope of Germany and cardinal Pomeranus. This is the work of God." On reaching the nuncio's residence, Luther was immediately admitted to him, but not saluted with his customary titles. They proceeded to converse about calling a Council, when Luther expressed his apprehension that the pope was not in earnest and meant only to amuse them. Were it even to assemble, nothing of consequence was likely, he said, to be transacted. Unmeaning discussions about tonsures and vestments were more likely to take up their attention than the doctrines of faith, justification, or

Christian concord." He added, "I and those who think with me have our minds thoroughly made up in regard to faith. The assistance of a Council in that respect is necessary only to those ignorant creatures who borrow their creed from others. But if you will actually call a Council I will come, though the consequence might be that you committed me to the flames." On the legate inquiring what town he would prefer for the assemblage of a Council, Luther replied, "Let it be wherever you like, at Mantua, Petavia, Florence, or elsewhere." The nuncio then asking if he had any objection to Bologna, Luther inquired in whose possession that city was, and on understanding that the pope had possession of it, he expressed surprise that his Holiness should have seized upon it, but added that he would go thither likewise. The nuncio having afterwards said, that it might happen that the pope would come to Wittemberg, Luther replied, "Let him come; we should be very glad to see him here." "But do you wish," rejoined Verger, "that he should come with an army, or not?" "Just as he pleases," said Luther; "we shall expect him in either way." The legate proceeded to ask if priests were consecrated in Saxony, "Certainly they are," replied Luther, "because the pope does not choose to ordain any for us;" and added, pointing to Pomeranus, "Here is a bishop whom we have consecrated." During the whole conversation Luther made it a rule to be unreserved with the nuncio, as well in regard to the views of the Protestants, as to his own continued antipathy to the church of Rome. On the breaking up of the conversation, Verger,

imitating Luther's jocular manner, called to him, "Take care that you be ready for the Council;" to which Luther replied, with a significant gesture, "I *will* come, with this neck of mine."

Verger is represented by the Catholic writers to have been a most unfit person to conduct such a negotiation, a censure probably incurred by his eventual desertion of the church. He thought proper to give a very different account of this interview from that which is inserted in Luther's works; but Father Paul has given us a circumstantial narrative of it, according, in every material point, with that of Luther's friends. The conference, as related above, contains every mark of authenticity. The display of Luther's humour, and the independence of his tone, are quite in unison with his general character. After the interview with Luther, the nuncio proceeded to hold conferences with the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, which led to nothing of importance.

The year 1536 was remarkable for the death of the great Erasmus. It is much to be lamented that his dispute with Luther was revived two years before with a great share of mutual asperity, Luther having gone so far as to bring the charge of atheism against his antagonist. Improperly as Erasmus acted in his latter years, he deserves to be regarded as one of the principal founders of the Reformation. His indefatigable labours in the cause of literature, and the length to which, at one time, he went in ridiculing popish superstition, were highly instrumental in preparing the public mind for the reception of a better doctrine. "*Illius scriptis*," says a

correspondent of Melancthon,* "*primum via strata Luthero, et lampas, docte Philippe, tibi.*"

Luther's last controversy with Erasmus was followed by one with a very different description of opponents—the Anabaptists. That sect had recently exposed itself to the indignation of the public by the most unexampled excesses. They had taken forcible possession of the city of Munster, and had begun to mark their mode of living by vices wholly at variance with the good order of society. They were accordingly very fit objects for the angry effusions of Luther, as well as for resistance by force of arms on the part of the civil power.

A task of a more acceptable kind remained to be performed by desire of the young elector of Saxony, the son of John. That prince was anxious for a shorter summary of the Protestant creed than the Augsburg confession. He applied accordingly to Luther, who drew it up with the assistance of Amsdorff, Agricola, and Spalatin. The fruit of their joint labours has been generally known by the name of the "Articles of Smalcald."

* Buckholzer.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE YEAR 1537 TO 1546.

WE are now arrived at Luther's fifty-fourth year, the period of his life at which his attacks of ill health first became serious. Excess in sedentary confinement had concurred with mental agitation to expose to severe inroads a constitution which had never been strong. The chief support of his health had consisted in his steady temperance; an advantage to which he, no doubt, owed the preservation of it during the years subsequent to the indisposition which we are now about to mention.

In the beginning of 1537, Luther was afflicted with a strangury, and the symptoms were so severe that both he and his friends began to despair of his life. In a letter to his wife of 18th February, he thus expressed himself: "In short, I was at the point of death, and I commended you and our little ones to God, our good master. I had given up all hopes of seeing you again, and felt great sympathy for you. I laid my account with the grave; but so many prayers and tears were poured out to God for my recovery, that it pleased him to afford me relief, and I am now considerably revived."

During this alarming illness, much anxiety was manifested for his recovery as well by his friends as by the public characters who favoured the Refor-

mation. His recovery appears to have been complete, and he was enabled to resume his labours in the cause of religion. In these he steadily persevered during the remaining nine years of his life. He prepared for the press two editions of his great work, the translation of the Bible, and published them successively in 1541 and 1545. He collected also his various compositions and printed them in a connected shape, with an introduction which has supplied many useful materials to his biographers. He continued to discharge, with his accustomed zeal, his official duty as a preacher and a professor. He published, likewise, commentaries on various parts of Scripture, and showed no inclination to relinquish his former habit of sending forth a popular treatise whenever circumstances in the state of religion appeared to call for it. But, amid these various occupations, it was remarked that his enterprizing spirit appeared to undergo abatement, and that in his latter years, he was found to hazard no new doctrines. This alteration should, however, be ascribed as much to the matured state of the Reformation as to the progress of Luther's years. The season was now come in which it was fitter to defend established opinions than to advance others that were new. Judicious and appropriate as this plan of conduct was, it has unavoidably the effect of shortening the narrative of Luther's latter years. An account of his publications at this time of life would be, in a great measure, a recapitulation of the subjects mentioned in the former part of our book.

An event of great importance, to the progress of

the Reformation in Luther's neighbourhood took place in 1539. This was the death of his obstinate opponent, George, duke of Saxony. So bigotted was this prince to the last, that he introduced into his will a clause bequeathing his territory to the emperor and king of the Romans, if his brother Henry, who was his natural successor, should apostatize from the Catholic religion. Henry, however, knew too well the secret wish of his subjects to be alarmed at this death-bed menace. He lost no time in inviting Luther along with other Reformers to Leipsic, and in accomplishing, with their assistance, that revolution in the mode of worship which had long been desired by the people.

The years 1540 and 1541 were remarkable for conferences held between the leading advocates of the Protestants and Catholics with a view to an agreement on the principal topics in dispute. These took place first at Worms, and afterwards, under circumstances of greater solemnity, at Ratisbon. This measure originated with the Protestants, and had the cordial wishes of the German Catholics who desired, above all things, the restoration of tranquillity in their native country. A greater approximation to concord was made on this than on any former occasion; Melancthon and Bucer on the part of the Protestants, and Grapper, a canon of Cologne, on that of the Catholics, conducting their disquisitorial labours in a very friendly tone. Eckius also assisted at these conferences, and appears to have dropped much of the vehemence of his earlier years. After all, the trouble of these distinguished scholars turned to very little account,

as the points on which they agreed had little application to practice. They concurred in speculative tenets, but differed widely in regard to that most important topic, the pope's authority. Had they even gone the length of harmonizing on this point, matters would have been little farther advanced, as the pope and the Italian Catholics disclaimed the concessions made by the Romish doctors at these conferences, and disapproved of the measure altogether. Luther, who had no idea of compromise, remonstrated resolutely against the yielding tone adopted by his friends; and the young elector of Saxony cordially joined him in disapproving all such concessions. They looked forward confidently to the eventual triumph of their cause, and the progress made, from year to year, by the Reformation appeared to justify their hopes.

It was in 1545, in Luther's sixty-second year, that his constitution began to exhibit strong symptoms of decline. He had for some time back been subject to attacks of a malady not unusual among sedentary men—the stone; and in this year, the attacks of the complaint became both more frequent and severe. At midsummer his friend Pontanus mentioned in a letter that Luther had then laboured during eight days under that excruciating disease. In addition, his attacks of head-ache, which had long been troublesome, now assumed an aggravated appearance. The injury caused to the system by these attacks was manifest in the impaired sight of one of his eyes. Such a complication of illness led his friends, as well as himself, to conclude that the period of his dissolution was not very remote.

On the part of his enemies an indecent wish to anticipate the event did not allow them to wait the progress of nature. Impatient to record the end of the man who had been foremost in the career of Reformation, they published premature accounts of his death and funeral. They had even the malignity to assert that the course of nature was inverted, and that the elements themselves had testified their abhorrence of the heretic. Luther, however, lived long enough to publish a contradiction, and to expose to shame the propagators of these falsehoods.

But bodily infirmity was not the only misfortune of Luther. That constitutional ardour which enabled him to brave the threats of ecclesiastical and temporal rulers was connected with a temper, productive, in several respects, of much uneasy sensation to its possessor. The effect produced by the opinions of Zwinglius throughout a considerable part of the Reformed body appears to have caused him much disquietude. His own arguments on the long disputed subject of the sacrament were by no means of that clear and forcible nature that enabled him either to persuade others or to establish completely his own conviction. The want of earnestness, too, in this point, of the friend of his heart, Melancthon, was a source of great vexation to him. That eminent man, as different from Luther in point of temper as can well be imagined, was contented to be regarded as a disciple of the Reformer. They had laboured together during many years, and had gone through life with a harmony and cordiality which has seldom been surpassed. Whether Melancthon privately favoured the Zwinglian no-

tion of the sacrament, and was withheld from an open declaration by respect for his friend, is not known; but that he did not enter with any ardour into Luther's tenets on that subject, is abundantly apparent. By a man of Luther's zeal the slightest deficiency of acquiescence in religious doctrine was magnified into confirmed opposition. The elector of Saxony, apprehensive of the progress of disunion among the Protestants, thought it necessary to commission his chancellor Pontanus, to recommend forbearance to Luther on the subject of the sacrament.

It happened also very unfortunately, that the evening of Luther's day was clouded by an altercation with the lawyers on the subject of clandestine marriages. So strong was the effect of this accumulation of chagrin, that Luther lost his attachment to his favourite city, Wittemberg, and left it, in the month of July, (1545,) apparently determined never to return. His wife remaining there, he charged her to inform his friends Pomeranus and Melancthon that he had retired, because he could no longer endure the contradiction and displeasure to which he was subjected. This intelligence, when it came to be publickly known at Wittemberg, was productive of deep and general regret; Luther having long been endeared to the inhabitants, both by the sincerity of his heart and by the extraordinary services which he had rendered to their city. His fame in early life, as a professor, and his wonderful reputation after becoming a reformer, had attracted crowds of students to the university, and had been the source of great advantage to the

citizens. Melancthon's affection for him continued unabated, and so deeply was he distressed by his departure, that without inquiring whether his grievances were well founded, he was eager to follow and pass in his society the remainder of life. The consequence of this concurrent feeling was an application, on the part of the university, to the elector (on first August,) intreating him most earnestly to use his influence and authority to prevail on Luther, whom they called their dear and reverend father, to return. They promised that whatever had given him offence should be corrected. The elector wrote forthwith to Luther, in the kindest and most affectionate manner, and even took the trouble to send his physician, Razenberg, to whom he begged that he would unbosom himself in the most confidential manner. Luther yielded to those cordial solicitations, and consented to resume once more his residence at Wittemberg. Here, though declining health necessarily contracted the degree of his exertion, he continued to write against the doctors of Louvain and other adherents of the papacy with an energy that revived the recollection of his better years.*

Though Luther continued in his original poverty, and had little ambition to interfere in affairs of business, his integrity and high character for judgment induced many persons to apply to him for advice. A dispute had for some time existed between the counts of Mansfeld respecting the brass and silver mines at Eisleben, his native place. He had been

* Seckend. L. iii. 581, 582, 583.

prevailed on to undertake the difficult task of attempting to compose these differences, and had actually made a journey thither, but without success. The parties now appearing more disposed to reconciliation, he was again induced, notwithstanding his infirmity, to undertake a repetition of the journey. In doing this he complied with the wish both of the counts of Mansfeld and of the elector of Saxony, who had interested himself in the business. That Luther was in a very feeble state will appear from the following extract of a letter to a friend, written on 17th January, 1546, only six days before he set out. "I write to you though old, decrepid, inactive, languid, and now possessed of only one eye. When drawing to the brink of the grave, I had hopes of obtaining a reasonable share of rest, but I continue to be overpowered with writing, preaching, and business, in the same manner as if I had not discharged my part in these duties in the early period of life." Razenberg had some time before prescribed the opening of an issue in his left leg. This was found to afford him considerable relief, and to enable him to walk to church and to the university to lecture. On going to Eisleben, however, he neglected to take proper dressings with him, and, from the pressure of business, unfortunately paid it little or no attention, a neglect which was evidently a cause of accelerating his death.

Nothing could be more indicative of Luther's ardour than the undertaking of a journey in the month of January, under such a pressure of bodily infirmities. The river Issel having overflowed its banks, he was five days on the road. His com-

panions, were his three sons, John, Martin, and Paul, and his steady friend, Justus Jonas. The counts of Mansfeld rode out attended by a hundred horsemen and followed by a crowd of adherents to the reformed doctrine, to meet the illustrious stranger. Soon after entering Eisleben, Luther suffered an access of extreme debility, a circumstance not unusual with him on engaging in a matter of deep interest. But this attack was more serious than on former occasions. He recovered, however, and seemed to enjoy the hospitality which his friends were anxious to show him. His time was past in an attention to his customary hours of daily prayer, in the transaction of the business which had called him to Eisleben, and in cheerful and good humoured conversation. He partook twice of the Lord's supper, and preached three or four times before the progressive advance of his malady led to the exhaustion of his frame. After passing nearly three weeks at Eisleben, his illness was productive of a fatal termination. He expired, surrounded by friends, and under a full sense of the nature of his situation. A letter written by Jonas to the elector of Saxony, a few hours after the occurrence of this melancholy event, gives a clear and faithful account of the circumstances attending it:

"It is with a sorrowful heart that I communicate the following information to your Highness. Although our venerable father in Christ, doctor Martin Luther, felt himself unwell before leaving Wittemberg, as also during his journey to this place, and complained of weakness on his arrival; he was

nevertheless present at dinner and supper every day in which we were engaged in the business of the counts. His appetite was pretty good, and he used humorously to observe that in his native country they well knew what he ought to eat and drink. His rest at night also was such as could not be complained of. His two youngest sons, Martin and Paul, were accustomed, along with me and one or two men servants, to sleep in his bed-room, accompanied sometimes by M. Michael Cœlius, a clergyman of Eisleben. As he had for some time back been accustomed to have his bed warmed, we made it a rule to do this regularly before he retired to rest. Every night on taking leave of us, he was accustomed to say "Pray to God that the cause of his church may prosper, for the Council of Trent is vehemently enraged against it." The physician who attended caused the medicines to which he had been accustomed to be brought from Wittemberg; and his wife, of her own accord, sent some others. The affairs of the counts of Mansfeld continued to require his attention every other day, or sometimes at an interval of two days. He was accustomed to transact business for one or two hours, along with Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, and John Henry, count Schwarzburg. But yesterday, Wednesday the 17th of February, prince Anhalt, count Schwarzburg and the rest of us prevailed on him to remain in his study till mid-day and to do no business. He walked through the room in his undress, looked at times out of the window, and prayed earnestly. He was all along pleasant and cheerful, but took occasion to say to Cœlius and me, "I

was born and baptised at Eisleben, what if I should remain and die here." In the early part of the evening he began to complain of an oppression at his breast, and had it rubbed with a linen cloth. This afforded him some ease. A little after he said, "It is not pleasant to me to be alone," and repaired to supper in the parlour. He ate with appetite, was cheerful and even jocular. He expounded several remarkable passages in Scripture, and said, once or twice in the course of conversation, "If I succeed in effecting concord between the proprietors of my native country, I shall return home and rest in my grave."

"After supper he again complained of the oppression at his breast, and asked for a warm linen cloth. He would not allow us to send for medical assistance, and slept on a couch during two hours and a half. Cœlius, Drachsted, the master of the house, whom we called in along with his wife, the town clerk, the two sons and myself, sat by him watching till half-past eleven. He then desired that his bed might be warmed, which was done with great care. I, his two sons, his servant Ambrose whom he had brought from Wittemberg, and other servants, lay down in the same room; Cœlius was in the adjoining room. At one in the morning he awoke Ambrose and me, and desired that one of the adjoining rooms might be warmed, which was done. He then said to me, "O Jonas, how ill I am; I feel an oppressive weight at my breast, and shall certainly die at Eisleben." I answered, "God, our heavenly father, will assist you by Christ whom you have preached." Meantime,

Ambrose made haste and led him, after he got up, into the adjoining room. He got thither without any other assistance, and in passing the threshold said aloud, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit." He then began to walk about, but in a short time asked for warm linen cloths. Meantime we had sent into the town for two physicians who came immediately. Count Albert likewise being called, he came along with the countess, the latter bringing some cordials and other medicines. Luther now prayed, saying, "O my heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast revealed to me thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have preached him, I have confessed him, I love him, and I worship him as my dearest Savour and Redeemer, him whom the wicked persecute, accuse, and blaspheme." He then repeated three times the words of the psalm, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit—God of truth, thou hast redeemed me." Whilst the physicians and we applied medicines, he began to lose his voice and to become faint; nor did he answer us, though we called aloud to him and moved him. On the countess again giving him a little cordial, and the physician requesting that he would attempt to give an answer, he said, in a feeble tone of voice, to Cœlius and me, "yes" or "no," according as the question seemed to require. When we said to him, "Dearest father, do you verily confess Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer," he replied, "Yes," so as to be distinctly heard. Afterward his forehead and face began to get cold, and although we moved him and called him by name, he gave no answer, but, with his hands clasped, continued to breathe slowly until he expired be-

tween two and three o'clock. John Henry, count Schwartzburg, arrived early and was present at his death.—Though much affected by the loss of him who has been our teacher during twenty-five years, we have thought it proper to give your Highness the earliest intimation of his death, that you may be pleased to give us directions concerning the funeral. We shall remain here until we receive them. We pray also that you may write to the count how to proceed. He would like to retain the body in Luther's native country, but he will obey the orders of your Highness. We also beg your Highness to write to his wife, to Melancthon, Pomeranus, and Cruciger, because you know better how to do it than we. May God, our omnipotent Father, comfort you and us in our affliction.*

"Eisleben, Thursday, 18th February, 1546."

This affecting letter reached the elector of Saxony on the day on which it was written. He immediately intimated to the counts of Mansfeld how much he was affected by Luther's death, and requested them to permit the body to be brought away, that it might be buried in the church of All Saints at Wittemberg. Jonas has given a minute account of the removal of the body and of the interment.

The day after his death, 19th February, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the body was brought with great solemnity into the church of St. Andrew, the largest at Eisleben. It was attended by the prince of Anhalt, the prince's brothers, and many other noblemen, along with a number of ladies of rank,

* Sleid. L. xvi. Seckend. L. iii. 634, et seq.

and an immense concourse of the lower orders. Jonas preached the funeral sermon from the fourth chapter of 1 Thessalonians, verse 14th, "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him." When he had concluded, the congregation separated, having left the body in the church under the care of ten citizens, who were to guard it during the night. On hearing that the body was to be carried to Wittemberg, Michael Cœlius gave a discourse next morning, taking his text from Isaiah lvii. verse 1st. "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart—none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. He shall enter into peace." After mid-day, all the persons whom we have mentioned, accompanied the body from the church through the city and beyond the gate. The countrymen, assembled by the ringing of bells, came, with their wives and children, with tears in their eyes, to meet the melancholy procession. The body was brought to Halle about five in the afternoon and was met at the gate by the senators and clergy. The streets of the city were so crowded by the multitude, that the procession moved on with difficulty. The hour was too late for the delivery of a discourse, but a psalm (the 130th) was given out, and sung in solemn harmony by the numerous assemblage. Early next morning, the senate, clergy, and scholars attended the departure of the body. On Monday, 22d, the funeral reached Wittemberg, and was received at the gate by the senate, the members of the university, and a numerous body of citizens. From the gate the pro-

cession moved, in solemn order, to the church, the prefect of Wittemberg with the counts of Mansfeld and their horsemen leading the way. The body followed in a carriage, and Luther's wife and family, accompanied by his brother James from Mansfeld, were immediately behind. Next came the rector of the university and several sons of counts, princes, and barons, who were students at Wittemberg. Pontanus, Melancthon, Jonas, Pomeranus, Crucigger, and other elderly ecclesiastics, now appeared, and were succeeded by the professors, the senators, the students, and the citizens. An immense crowd of the lower orders followed in the rear. The body was deposited in the church on the right of the pulpit. After the singing of hymns, Pomeranus ascended the pulpit, and delivered an excellent discourse. When he had concluded, Melancthon pronounced a funeral oration, which, while it bore affecting marks of his personal sorrow, was intended to afford consolation to others and to alleviate the grief of the church. These melancholy offices being performed, the body was committed to the grave by several members of the university. A stone was placed over the grave, with a plain inscription, expressive merely of the name and age. A picture of Luther and an epitaph were afterwards affixed to the wall by order of the university.

We are now about to bring our account of this distinguished man to a close. We have followed him throughout a career, which, if not lengthened in point of time beyond the ordinary course of na-

ture, was rendered for ever memorable by his indefatigable activity of mind. At whatever age we contemplate Luther, we find the traits of no common disposition. While yet a boy, we have seen him devoting himself with ardour to study, and outstripping his youthful competitors in classic attainments. Advancing towards manhood, he loses indeed a valuable portion of time in acquiring a familiarity with the barbarous jargon of the schools; but his progress in this unprofitable department is such as to afford a satisfactory indication of his success in a better cause. When arrived at the time of life for making choice of a profession, he exhibits striking marks of a decided character. Young as he was, he had determined to devote himself to the service of God, and no intreaty of friends, no temptation of emolument could shake his resolution. Having taken the conclusive step and become an inhabitant of a monastery, he avoids the idle and uninstructive habits of his brethren, and, without the aid of any advising friend, devotes himself to theological research. In this he resolutely perseveres, notwithstanding the ridicule of those around him, whose knowledge of their duty was confined to the repetition, by rote, of a few prayers, and who had allowed a copy of the Bible to lie for years neglected in a corner.

By one of those remarkable dispensations of Providence, which rendered Luther the instrument of so much public good, he was early placed in a situation to distribute to others the fruits of his study. Though called to officiate as a teacher of philosophy, and for some time, perhaps, inadequately qualified to fill the theological chair, the bent of inclination

remained as before, and he embraced the first favourable opportunity of making his duty consist in that which had long been his delight. By this change he was placed in the situation best fitted to enable him to instruct others, and to prosecute his researches into the true nature of Christianity. We find him accordingly holding for several years an assiduous but tranquil course. The time which thus elapsed was sufficient to shake in him the foundation of the false impressions of youth, without being of a length to carry him beyond the years of enterprising exertion. Under these circumstances, it is so ordered that the abuses of papal corruption shall be brought under the eye of himself and his countrymen in their most offensive shape. Luther is revolted at the sight, and ventures to commence an opposition which, under a different sovereign, or in any other country in Europe, could hardly have failed to have been unsuccessful and disastrous. This opposition bears no mark of selfish motives—it implies, on the contrary, a relinquishment and forfeiture of professional advancement. In all Luther's proceedings, various as they are, in his preachings, his treatises, and disputations, we discern no step taken for the gratification of personal advantage;—all is disinterested and zealous;—all is prompted by an anxiety to understand and promulgate the word of God.

Though learned beyond his cotemporaries, Luther had much to acquire after coming forward as an author. His theological knowledge was derived, in great part, from the writings of the Fathers, and, familiar as he was with Scripture, he had to study its most difficult passages without the assistance of

intelligent commentators. It was more suitable, however, to his constitutional ardour to attack corruption at once with the weapons which lay at hand, than to allow time to pass in preparing arms of a less defective character. Hence those changes and inconsistencies in particular topics, which, however suspicious in the eyes of the weak or the malignant, afford to the considerate observer a complete evidence of his sincerity. Conscious of pure intention, Luther felt no shame in acknowledging the errors arising from haste or engendered by early prejudice. He journeyed along the track of inquiry without assistance; he was obliged to feel his way; and it was only step by step that he acquired a knowledge of the true path. He was long in the hope that the head of the church would disapprove of the indecent sale of Indulgences, and would extend support to the man who came forward to denounce it. When less confident of this support, he was inclined to ascribe to bad advisers that protection of vice of which he accounted the pontiff incapable. Nor could he prevail on himself to think otherwise till after the most conclusive proofs that no integrity of motive was accounted a justification of the capital crime of developing the corruption of the church. When this was clearly ascertained, Luther's choice was no longer doubtful—the establishment, which refused to listen to reform, became in his view an object for direct and unmitigated hostility. Many years of his life were yet to pass, and his views in points of doctrine were destined to undergo several changes; but no solicitation or argument had effect in altering his behaviour towards the church of Rome.

After his rupture with the pope, and the adoption of the new doctrine by a numerous body of converts, Luther became one of the most conspicuous men in Europe. Princes embraced opportunities of conversing with him, and senates were not backward in applying to him for advice. These distinctions, and the influence attached to them, were enjoyed by Luther above twenty years, yet in no single instance did he seek to turn them to his personal advantage. Indifference to money is not unfrequent among men of his secluded habits, but how few individuals would have possessed Luther's power without making it subservient to the acquisition of rank or honours? All these were disdained by him, and his mind remained wholly occupied with the diffusion of religious truth. Even literary fame had no attractions for Luther. The improvement of the condition of his fellow creatures was the object which with him superseded every other consideration. No temptation of ambition could remove him, in his days of celebrity, from his favourite university of Wittemberg. While his doctrines spread far and wide, and wealthy cities would have been proud to receive him, Luther clung to the spot where he discharged the duty of a teacher, and to the associates whom he had known in his season of humility.

In considering Luther as an author, we are struck with the extent and variety of his labours. They consist of controversial tracts, of commentaries on Scripture, of sermons, of letters, and of narratives of the chief events of his life. The leading feature of his controversial writings is an unvaried confi-

dence in the goodness of his arguments. It never seems to occur to him to entertain a doubt of the accuracy of the proposition which he undertakes to defend. It unavoidably followed that he bestowed too little time on analyzing the reasoning of others, and on reconsidering his own. His natural temper led him to conceive strongly, and his triumphs over the Romanists powerfully seconded this constitutional tendency. The same warmth led him to avail himself of the aid of whatever weapons were calculated to reach his adversary. Sarcasm in all its shapes, raillery, ridicule, direct personality, and even punning, abound in his controversial tracts to a degree which is hardly justified by the example of other writers of the age. Impatience and irritability were his great faults, and they are abundantly conspicuous in his writings. No sooner had he formed an idea of the motives or of the doctrine of an individual at variance with himself, than he made it the object of unsparing condemnation. Hence the endless complaints from adversaries of his precipitation and rudeness. Without desiring to excuse such exceptionable characteristics, it is due to his memory to observe that they originated in no malignant intention. They were not displayed towards inoffensive persons, nor were they meant as the foundation of lasting animosity. They were often the ebullition of the moment, and appear to have been carried, in the heat of composition, to a greater length than was intended at the outset. The freedom of his language in treating of the conduct of the great, arose partly from constitutional ardour, and partly from an habitual impression of the all-

powerful claims of truth. The lofty attitude so often assumed by Luther is not therefore to be attributed to pride or vanity. In treating of the Scriptures, he considered himself as acting in the presence of God, whose majesty and glory were so infinitely exalted above all created beings, as to reduce to one and the same level the artificial distinctions of worldly institutions. Under this conviction the prince or the king who ventured to oppose what Luther considered the word of God, seemed to him no more exempted from severe epithets than the humblest of his adversaries. However we may censure the length to which his freedom was carried, the boldness of his conduct was, on the whole, productive of much good. An independent and manly tone in regard not only to religion, but to civil liberty, literature, the arts and sciences, was created and disseminated by his example.

His compositions of all kinds, including sermons and epistolary disquisitions, are calculated, by his distinguished biographer, Seckendorff, at the extraordinary number of eleven hundred and thirty-seven. When we consider, in addition, the extent of his public duty, and the variety of his correspondence, we cannot fail to admire the prodigious efforts of his industry. Where the mass of writing was so large, we must expect little polish of style. Luther's imagination was vigorous, but the cultivation of taste engaged no part of his attention. His inelegance of style has been chiefly remarked in his Latin publications. His taste in early life had been corrupted by the barbarous diction of the scholastic divines, and in his riper years he was too impatient

to communicate the substance of his thoughts, to bestow much attention on the dress in which they appeared. It suited his ardour to commit to paper the impression of the moment, and to give free course to that excitement which grows strongly on men of his temper in the progress of composition. The consequence is that his sentences are generally of great length; the succeeding members appearing an expansion, and not unfrequently a repetition, of what had gone before. No pains were taken to promote clearness, and very little to correct ambiguity. As he was wholly indifferent to the praise of elegance, he gave himself no trouble about the choice of words. When classical vocables did not readily occur to him, he had no scruple in making a new word by giving a Latin termination to an expression borrowed from the Greek, or some other language. His arrangement is equally defective, and the result of all this is, that his works are full of obscure passages. Some of them are so much involved, that it is next to impossible to make out the meaning. In his German compositions the case is different. His translation of the Bible has been always admired, and his hymns have given way to versifications of later date in consequence only of the progressive change in the language.

His theological system he professed to found altogether on the authority of Scripture. Such, it must be allowed, was in a great measure the case, although his predilection for the writings of Augustine influenced his creed to a degree of which he was perhaps unconscious. Of his commentaries and sermons, many were printed from the notes of hearers, and,

though generally shown to him before-hand, he was so indifferent to fame, so immersed in business, and so intent on the object of the moment, that he allowed them to go forth without much correction. The plan of his discourses, if plan it can be called, was not calculated to procure him reputation on the score of composition. The leading points of controversy between him and the Catholics are introduced on all occasions, and some of his favourite doctrines, such as justification by faith without works, could never, he seems to have thought, be out of season. On the other hand, few writers discover greater knowledge of the world, or a happier talent in analyzing and illustrating the shades of character. In this respect Luther is greatly superior to those who form their notions of mankind in the stillness of their closet. It is equally remarkable that no man could display more forcibly the tranquil consolations of religion. Though unable to subdue his impetuosity of temper, he was anxious to moderate it, and seems to have been perfectly acquainted with the means which it is incumbent on us to use for that purpose.

Let us now turn aside from Luther's public character, and contemplate him in the scenes of private life. Warm as he was in temper, and unaccustomed to yield to authoritative demands, he yet possessed much of the milk of human kindness. Few men entered with more ardour into the innocent pleasures of society. His frankness of disposition was apparent at the first interview, and his communicative turn, joined to the richness of his stores, rendered his conversation remarkably interesting. In

treating of humorous subjects, he discovered as much vivacity and playfulness as if he had been a man unaccustomed to serious research. The visitor of Luther's domestic circle was assured of witnessing a pleasing union of religious service with conjugal and paternal affection. His fondness for music continued during life, and spread a charm over the discharge of his serious duties. He was always a zealous advocate for the use of music in public worship. In an evening before parting from his family and his friends, he was in the habit of regularly singing a hymn. This he usually did in a high key, and with all the advantage of a delightful voice. In his hours of occasional dejection, music proved his most pleasant and effectual restorative.* It was much to be regretted that his constitution, though apparently robust, by no means afforded him the steady enjoyment of health. Whether from taking too little exercise, or from the repeated occurrence of mental agitation, he was subject to frequent and severe head-aches. In respect to diet, he was remarkably abstemious, a habit probably acquired in the monastery, and continued in consequence of the sedentary nature of his occupations.

The diffusion of religious knowledge being always foremost in Luther's mind, he was fond, when along with his friends, of turning the conversation in that direction. Nor was there any objection to it on the part of his associates. The fluency of his arguments and the spirit of his illustrations were calculated to divest serious topics of whatever might

* See Appendix F F.

be forbidding, and to give them all the attraction of subjects of amusement. The study of Scripture elucidated by Luther, appeared no longer in the light of a task, and the ponderous writings of the Fathers seemed in his hands divested of their customary incumbrance.

If among the numerous virtues of Luther, we seek for that which more particularly characterized him, we shall fix, without hesitation, on his contempt for the terrors of power. It was to this undaunted spirit that he was chiefly indebted for his usefulness and celebrity. To maintain the cause of truth, as a servant of God, was a task in which no danger could appal him. His courage arose from no hasty resolution and still less from any hidden ambition—it was a firm, deliberate determination, founded on thorough conviction, and unconscious of abatement under the most embarrassing circumstances. Regardless of the threats of foes, or the expostulations of friends, he persevered in his course, and looked forward, with patience and confidence, to "reap in joy what he had sown in tears."

Again, if we pass from the examination of his mind to a view of the different capacities in which he came before the public, we shall see him to greatest advantage in the character of a preacher. He mounted the pulpit full of his subject, and eager to diffuse a portion of his stores among his audience. The hearer's attention was aroused by the boldness and novelty of the ideas; it was kept up by the ardour with which he saw the preacher inspired. In the discourse there was nothing of the stiffness of laboured composition; in the speaker no affectation

in voice or gesture. Luther's sole object was to bring the truth fully and forcibly before his congregation. His delivery was aided by a clear elocution, and his diction had all the copiousness of a fervent imagination.

Luther left the little property which he possessed to his dear Catherine de Bora. She removed after his death to Torgau, and survived him nearly seven years. His family, consisting of a daughter in addition to the three sons already mentioned, were relieved from hereditary poverty by the liberality of the elector of Saxony and the counts of Mansfeld. The grandson of Paul, the youngest of Luther's sons, lived in the time of Seckendorff, and occupied a respectable situation.*

* See Appendix G G.

APPENDIX.

NOTES.

[A. page 2.]

IT would be tedious and disgusting to report the endless calumnies circulated by the meaner class of Catholic writers in regard to Luther. Every thing respecting his birth, education, and character is made to wear an unnatural shape. As a specimen, take the following assertion from the works of Gabriel Prateolus Mareopius, De Vitis, Sectis, et Dogmatibus omnium Hereticorum. Edit. Cologn. 1569. 271: "Sunt qui Lutherum scribunt *incubo* natum, qui ejus matrem balnei, publici servulam, oppresserit." By *incubus* we are to understand a dæmon in human shape, and by way of giving farther consistency to the story, the appearance said to be assumed was that of a slave dealer, a class of men notorious for their profligacy.

Another tale, not quite so absurd or monstrous, was the assertion that Luther was a native of Bohemia, and a descendant of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The reputed heresy and unfortunate death of these men, who had been committed to the flames by order of the council of Constance, were calculated to affix, in vulgar apprehension, a stain on whoever might be related to them.

[B. page 5.]

Ignorance of the Monks.—The works of Ulrich Hutten of Franconia, entitled *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*, ridicules with great felicity the bad Latin, and general ignorance of the opposers of the revival of learning. That which Hutten censured in Latin, designedly bad, afforded to Buchannan an admirable subject for satire in his "*Franciscanus*" and "*Fratres Fraterrimi.*" The classic elegance, the harmony, and the nervous declamation of the Franciscanus has never been surpassed. Juvenal, it is plain, was Buchannan's model.—An interesting account of Hutten is to be seen in Seckendorff, p. 130. See also Hottinger de Necessit. Reform. p. 13, who relates that when Erasmus first perused the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*, he laughed so immoderately as to burst an abscess in his face, which his physician had directed to be lanced.—A farther account of Hutten

is given in Melchior. Adam. Vit. German. Jurisconsult. et Politic. Melchior Adam is entitled to the praise of being an indefatigable compiler; but there is very little original composition in his book, and, in regard to Luther, he has transcribed almost all that Melancthon has recorded on the subject of his life.

[C. page 6.]

The origin of degrees in the universities of Europe is a subject of curious disquisition. These distinctions were unknown to the ancients, and appear to have been invented by the clergy, who were the only scholars in the dark ages, by way of giving consequence to their order. The most probable account is that they were introduced when Lombard's book of *Sentences* made its appearance.* Those who commented on it were called "Doctors" or "Teachers," while Lombard himself was named "Master."

[D. page 10.]

Luther's father did not cease to express, during several years, a disapprobation of his monastic

* Spelman's Glossarium.

vow. Seckend. p. 19. Luther afterwards acknowledged that this reproof was never forgotten by him, and that it sounded like the voice of God. De Vot. Monast. It is a singular coincidence that Savonarola, who preceded Luther in his attempts at reformation, and whose fate was so tragical, also declared that he became a monk in compliance with the express command of heaven. His parents were in like manner averse from the resolution he had taken. Miránd. Vit. Sav. C. 5. Also Savonar. Epp. Spirit. et Ascet. translated by Quetif, p. 9.

[E. page 11.]

"Initio etiam durius a fratribus fuit habitus, dum custodis, ut vocant, officio fungi, et loca immunda purgare, coactus fuit; uti et cum sacco per civitatem ambulare, &c. Melch. Ad. Autor est duriter habitum fuisse a monachis vilissimisque servitiis gravatum," &c. Seckend. p. 21.

[F. page 14.]

Of Luther's knowledge of Latin and Greek in the early part of his life, Ludovicus Vives expresses himself thus in his celebrated work, "De Causis

corruptarum Artium," Lib. ii. p. 363. Edit. Basil. 1555. "Quid, num non etiam Lutherus dialecticus, et Sophista, et Theologus scholasticus, et quidem magis quam Latinus? nam Græce *nihil penitus* noverat, quum ad scribendum accessit, Latine parum admodum; et quæ tuenda susceperat, dialectica et argumentatiunculis tutatus est non linguis.

Erasmus' edition of the New Testament was published in February, 1516, and was the labour of five months only. The Polyglott of Ximenes had been printed a short time before this, but in consequence either of an interdict from the pope, or from not procuring leave to publish it, Erasmus had not seen it. Vid. Millic. prolegom. Ad. N. T. P. iii. also Wetsten. prolegom. p. 120. The commentator in the highest repute at that time was Nicolas de Lyra. Father Simon gives a character of Lyra in his Hist. Crit. des principaux Commentat. du Noveau Testament, Chap. 33. and also in his Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. Liv. iii. Chap. xi. Lyra's commentary, as far as I have consulted it, appears to be a work of considerable merit; he flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Laurentius Valla distinguished himself in the fifteenth century by a work entitled, De Collatione Novi Testamenti libri duo. Bellarmine says of him, "Præcursor quidam Lutheranæ sectæ videtur." Liber. i. c. 7. De Pœnit. Valla's epitaph may be seen in the Lateran. He died in 1465. See his character as a critic in Simon's Hist. Crit. du N. T. Chap. 34. His book is chiefly philological. Revius published an edition at Amsterdam in 1630, in 18mo. to which he has subjoined a

few annotations. The works of the authors mentioned in this note are frequently referred to by Luther.

[G. page 16.]

The monks' explanation of this doctrine of the creed was curious. "Non solum in genere credendum esse, *aliquibus* remitti, ut et Dæmones credunt, Davidi aut Petro remitti: sed mandatum Dei esse, ut *singuli homines nobis* remitti peccata credamus." Melch. Ad.—Luther, it seems, derived comfort from this reasoning. It contains an obscure enunciation of the doctrine called the *act of appropriation*, an attachment to which was the cause of the great body of dissenters in Scotland leaving the establishment early in the last century. This goes generally by the odd name of the *Marrow Controversy*, owing to one Fisher having published in England about the beginning of the seventeenth century, a book which he called the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, the republication of which gave occasion to great disputes. Mr. Hervey defended the same doctrine in his sixteenth dialogue between Theron and Aspasia, which was vigorously attacked by Robert Sandeman, under the fictitious name of Palæmon. Cudworth answered Sandeman.

[H. page 17.]

Extemporary preaching appears to have been common in and before the days of Luther, so that the usual way of giving to the public the subject of a discourse was from notes taken by one of the hearers. Erasm. Ep. Lib. xvii. Ep. 24. On the title pages of many editions of the discourses of popular preachers, before and about the time of Erasmus, there is a print of a congregation assembled, with a person haranguing them, and there is always a clerk at the foot of the desk with a book and a pen in his hand.—Indeed many of those sermons were published by the *Notaries*, as they were called. Savonarola's sermons, many of Luther's discourses and commentaries (that on the Galatians in particular,) were prepared for the press by those persons. An interesting, though rudely executed print is to be seen on the title page of the edition of the sermons of the former, published in Italian at Venice in 1540. A very well executed print by Picart of a similar description is prefixed to Gerson's works. Edit. Antw. 1706, published by Dupin.

[I. page 18.]

Savonarola was of the Dominican order, and was committed to the flames at Florence in the year

1498, when he bore his fate with triumphant fortitude and serenity. Mosh. Vol. iii. p. 257. For a full account of the persecutions of Savonarola and of the circumstances by which his destruction was accomplished, as well as a refutation of the false accusations made against him, consult Seckend. p. 119. See also his life by John Picus Mirandola published at Paris in 2 vol. 12mo. with ample notes and additions, in 1674. This contains a great deal of curious matter, blended, it must be acknowledged, with a large portion of enthusiasm. Guicciardin has referred to him in various parts of his work. L. i. p. 132, 133. 156. 257. 291, &c. and Vignier de Bar, De l'histoire de l'Eglise. p. 622. Leyden, 1601.

Mr. Roscoe in his Leo X. Vol. i. p. 278, 279, and in his Loren. di Med. Vol. ii. p. 269, gives a very unfavourable account of Savonarola. This unfortunate man was not, I allow, without his faults; but the reader who is disposed to examine the authorities quoted in this note, will be surprised to find so little evidence in confirmation of Mr. Roscoe's opinion. I have specified the passages in Guicciardin, in which that historian animadverts upon Savonarola, that every one may judge for himself. The value of Mr. Roscoe's works is considerably impaired by the great partiality he shows to the advocates of the Court of Rome. Thus, he almost invariably gives the preference to Pallavicini when in direct opposition to Father Paul, though he could not fail to know, that the former of these writers was rewarded with a cardinal's hat by the court of Rome, for defending their cause, and was

in short their professed apologist. In like manner he has given the preference to the Jesuit Maimbourg's history of Lutheranism, though he makes his references to Seckendorff's translation, and consequently had the antidote before him.

Savonarola's works are not numerous. His "*Triumph of the Cross*" is a book of considerable merit, and written in a manner more methodical and philosophical than one would have expected in that age. Its general tendency seems to be an attempt to prove the *reasonableness* of Christianity in all its doctrines. His sermons in Italian are accounted very eloquent. His works must have contributed much to form Luther's sentiments in regard to religion; and, without detracting from our Reformer, the Dominican's creed differed little from his.

Kempis.—The real name of Kempis was Thomas Hamerken von Kempen. He was a regular canon of the St. Augustine monastery of St. Agnesberg near Swol, under the chapter of Windesheim. Brandt's Hist. of Reform. in the Low Countries, Vol. i. p. 29.—Scarcely any book ever occasioned more bitter contests than the work which now goes under the name of Kempis. It has been ascribed not only to Kempis, but to St. Bernard, to John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, and to one John Gessen. The canons regular and the Benedictines have each claimed it as their own. It is certain that when first published, it was attributed to Gerson. But since the edition of Budius in 1520, it has generally been published under the name of Kempis. Trifling as this dispute may

now appear, it excited in 1641 such attention in France, that cardinal Richlieu sent a deputation from Paris to Rome to examine the manuscripts which were said to be found in the Vatican. The indefatigable Dupin has examined the evidence on the subject in a dissertation of 112 pages, and concludes by saying, that he can decidedly affirm, that Bernard and Gessen have no claim, but can assert nothing as to the real author. He seems, however, inclined to ascribe it to Gerson. Hist. des Controverses et des Matieres Eccles. To. xiv. p. 585. Paris, 8vo. 1698.

Gerson.—John Charlier was surnamed Gerson, from a village in the diocese of Rheims near to Rhetel, in which he was born in 1363. He went to Paris at the age of fourteen, and was admitted into the Society of Artists of the college of Navarre. After having studied Latin and philosophy, he was admitted in 1382 into the Society of Divines, and having studied ten years under Peter de Alliaco and Gilles Dechamps, he took his doctor's degree in 1392. He afterwards succeeded his master Alliaco as Chancellor of the university, and canon of a church at Paris. He died in 1439. Dupin. L. 14. p. 223.

Taulerus.—"Joh. Tauleri sermones"—"neque in Latina neque in Germanica lingua se vidisse Theologiam salubriorem et cum evangelio consonantiorem." Such were Luther's expressions in a letter to Spalatin, in December, 1516. Taulerus was a German and a Dominican of Cologne, and one of the most celebrated preachers of his time. Surius translated his sermons into Latin from the

German, and printed them at Cologne in 1548, with some small pieces, which relate chiefly to practical divinity. Taulerus died in 1361. Acta Sanctorum Januarii. Tom. ii. p. 652. Dupin Hist. Controv. Eccles. T. xiii. p. 272. Some ascribe to him also the *Theologia Germanica*. See Bayle. Art. Taulerus.

Augustine and Bernard.—In To. iii. of Dupin's work the history of Augustine and a summary of the contents of his works are given at great length. In To. x. there is to be found an ample account of the life and writings of Bernard.

[K. page 20.]

Gabriel.—Gabriel Biel was by birth a Swiss, though some affirm that he came from Spires. Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, founded a university at Tubingen in 1477, in which Biel was professor of philosophy and divinity. After he had taught with reputation for some years, he entered into the Order of Cœnobite clergy, and died, according to some, in 1495, although others affirm that he lived till 1520. His most celebrated work is his commentary on the *Sentences*, a book which will be afterwards noticed. The title of the only edition I have seen is "Repositorium generale et succinctum, veruntamen valde utile atque necessarium: contentorum in quatuor collectoriis acutis-

simi et profundissimi Theologi Gabrielis Biel super quatuor libros sententiarum. Tubing. 1501.

Cammeracensis.—The real name of Cammeracensis was Peter de Alliaco. He was a Frenchman, born of very poor parents in 1350, and educated in the college of Navarre, which he entered as a bursar in 1372. He began to teach the *Sentences* in 1375, and had for pupils John Gerson and Nic. Climangius. In 1389 he was elected Chancellor of the university of Paris and confessor to Charles VI. In 1394 he was made treasurer of the chapel royal. In 1409 he was present at the council of Pisa, was created a cardinal in 1411, and died in 1425. He was called "Aquila Franciæ, et malleus a veritate aberrantium indefessus." His works are numerous.

[L. page 24.]

Origen.—The original of the work in which Origen attempted to establish a concordance between Christianity and Platonism is unfortunately lost. It was entitled περὶ ἀρχῶν, "de principiis." A translation by Ruffinus is still preserved, but he has added many opinions of his own, so that it is now impossible to ascertain what ought to be ascribed to Origen.

[M. page 26.]

Abelard.—The history of this unfortunate man is known in this country from Mr. Pope's beautiful poem. The story is told, at much greater length, and with scarcely less interest, by Abelard himself, in his first letter, entitled "Historia Calamitatum Abelardi ad amicum scripta." He died 20th April, 1142, aged 63. Vid. Præf. Apolog. prefixed to Abelard's works. Paris, 1616. The history of Abelard is well elucidated by Andrew Quercetanus, in notes, which are subjoined to the edition published at the expense of Francis Ambaese, councellor of state. Dup. Hist. de Controv. T. 10. p. 360—409.

Lombard, magister sententiarum. Lombard was born in a village of Navarre in Lombardy, and studied at Bologna. From his eminence as a scholar, he attracted the attention of the French so much, that when the archbishopric of Paris became vacant, and was offered to Philip, the son of Louis le Gros, he declined it, and gave it to Lombard. He died in 1164, and was buried in the church of St. Marcel, where the licentiates of the faculty of Paris were obliged, until the late revolution, to say mass in honour of his memory.

The question respecting the existence of universal ideas was, in former ages, a source of endless controversy in the schools. This was more particularly the case during the two centuries previous to the time of Luther. The parties were generally known by the distinction of "Nominalists" and "Realists," and their mutual acrimony gave occa-

sion not only to persecution but to bloodshed. I subjoin a short notice of one of the principal leaders on each side.

Thomas Aquinas (founder of the Thomists) was called the "Angelical Doctor." He was descended from the royal house of Sicily and Arragon, and born in 1224. After being educated at the monastery of Mont Cassin, he was sent to Naples where he studied Latin and philosophy. He became a preacher, in spite of his mother, who, in 1241 caused him to be imprisoned and confined in a castle for two years. He went to Paris in 1244, and took his doctor's degree in 1255. He went to Italy in 1263, and after having taught the school philosophy in many universities, he settled at Naples, and refused an archbishopric which Clement IV. offered him. In 1274, he was called by Gregory X. to the Council of Lyons, but died on the road at the age of 50.

John Dunscotus (founder of the Scotists) called the "Subtile Doctor," who flourished about 1300, opposed the doctrines of Thomas. He was followed in this by his brethren of the Minorites. It is uncertain whether he was of an English or Scotish family. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, and taught divinity there. He next went to France, and taught with great reputation in the university of Paris. Dupin, T. 12. p. 252. and T. 13. p. 195. Sleidan. Lib. i. Camden, Britann. Northumber.

Luther changed his opinion of the school-logic as soon as he began to inquire and think for himself. He used after that to call Aristotle *Momus,*

and said of the scholastic theology; "Nihil posse tam argute proponi quod non rursus possit retundi, miserum illud pistrinum abunde docet in quo Scotistæ, Thomistæ, Albertistæ, moderni et singuli in suas quoque sectas divisi, tempus perdunt. Luth. Dedicat. to Frederick, prefixed to his Commentary on the Psalms.

[N. page 28.]

Reuchlin, surnamed *Capnion.*—"Capnion" in Greek, like Reuchlin in German, signifies "smoke." From the days of Jerome, few Christians understood Hebrew till Reuchlin, by his indefatigable exertions, made the study of it popular. He published rudiments, and a Lexicon of the Hebrew Tongue. Vid. Vit. Jo. Reuchlin Phorcensis, primi in Germania Hebraicarum Græcarumque et aliarum bonarum Literarum Instauratoris, a Jo. Henrico Maio. Frankfort, 1687, p. 7. 142. 164. 32. 238. 143. Reuchlin was persecuted by the admirers of the scholastic philosophy for his endeavours to promote the study of Hebrew. Melch. Ad. Vit. Capnion. Seckend. p. 19. In 1497, he caused a comedy in Latin verse to be acted at Heidelberg, at the palace of the bishop of Worms. When at Paris, about the year 1470, he had seen the famous farce of *l'Avocat Patelin* performed, and the Latin comedy acted at Worms was an imitation of this. L'Enfant. Hist. C. Const. L. v. The Reformers did

not disapprove of theatrical representations, nor of music and dancing, provided they were kept within proper bounds. Vid. De Regno Christi. L. ii. Cap. 54, Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 141, &c. "De Honestis Ludis." Edit. Basil. 1577.—Ocolampadius wrote six tragedies. Melch. Ad. Vit. Ocolampad.

[O. page 31.]

It may gratify the reader to see in the original, this notable extract from Luther's composition:

"Lector sciat, me fuisse aliquando monachum et papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam aggressus sum: ita ebrium, imo submersum, in dogmatibus Papæ, ut paratissimus fuerim omnes, si potuissem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari et consentire, qui Papæ vel una syllaba obedientiam detrectarent. Non eram ita glacies et frigus ipsum in defendendo papatu, sicut fuit Eccius et sui similes, qui mihi verius propter suum ventrem Papam adhuc defendere videbantur, quam quod serio rem agerent. Imo ridere mihi Papam adhuc hodie videntur velut Epicuræi. Ego serio rem agebam, ut qui diem extremum horribiliter timui, et tamen salvus fieri ex intimis medullis cupiebam."

[P. page 40.]

Lorenzo Pucci was a native of Florence, Apostolic Prothonotary (an officer, whose duty consisted originally in recording the acts of martyrs,) and Datary to Julius II. and Leo X. In this latter capacity he had the charge of expediting the petitions presented to the pope. Both of these were offices of great trust. He was also, when a presbyter, created "Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum," by Leo in the first year of his pontificate. He was in great favour with Julius, and was consulted on all important occasions by Leo. He died at Rome in 1531. Vit. et Res. Gest. Pontificum Roman. &c. Alphons. Ciacon. Tom. ii. p. 1406. Rom. 1630. Guicciard. L. 13. Sarpi. L. i. Erasmus dedicated his famous edition of Cyprian to this cardinal, in 1519, and says of him "Cui *meritissimo* inter tot ordinis Cardinalitii lumina primas tribuit Leo Pontifex, &c. The judicious and candid president De Thou, however, seems to have known his real character. Leo, quum alioqui ad omnem licentiam sponte sua ferretur, Laurentii Puccii Card. *hominis turbidi*, cui nimium tribuebat, *impulsu* ut pecuniam ad immensos sumptus undique corrogaret. Shuan. L. i.

[Q. page 41.]

Guicciard. L. xiii. Sarp. L. i. It must be confessed that the account of these two authors is

different from Luther's. According to Luther the archbishop of Mentz had one half of the produce, and the pope the other. "Dimidium pecuniæ ex Indulgentiis habebat (Archiepiscop. Mogunt.) alterum dimidium Papa." Luth. Præf. Luther possibly might, by a common figure of speech, call that the Pope's share, which was appropriated to his sister, Magdalen. This, however, is very unlikely. Had the Reformer been acquainted with this fact, there can be little doubt that he would have mentioned it. Sarpi trusted to Guicciardini. From the reasons assigned by Dr. Robertson, Hist. Char. V. vol. ii. p. 125, 126, it appears that the historian of the wars of Italy had asserted this gift of Leo to his sister as a fact, without sufficient evidence. His known general accuracy, however, as well as its being repeated by all historians since his time, has induced me to relate in the text the account which he has given.

[R. page 42.]

Abuses in the Catholic Church.—Louis XII. of France used to call the church of Rome Babylon, and applied to it the description, given by John, of the mother of harlots. Long before his time, in the year 1409, the Council of Pisa was called for the purpose of "reforming the church in its head and in its members." A century after, on the death of Alexander VI. the cardinals bound them-

selves by an oath that a General Council should be assembled within two years for the reformation of the church. This engagement was ratified by an oath on the part of Julius II. after his accession to the papacy—no council, however, was called. For an account of the corruptions existing in the church, see a very curious work entitled "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum, prout ab Orthuino Gratio Presbytero Daventriensi, editus est Coloniæ, 1535. In Concilii tunc indicendi usum et admonitionem; unà cum Appendice sive Tomo II. Scriptorum veterum qui Ecclesiæ Romanæ errores et abusus detegunt et damnant, necessitatemque reformationis urgent, &c. opera et studio Edwardi Brown, Parochi Sundrigiæ in agro Cantiano. Fol. Londin, 1690. A collection of a similar kind had been made by Dr. Edward Buckley, and published at London in 1606. 12mo.—In proof of the very general desire for the reformation of the church, which prevailed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, see L'Enfant's Hist. of the Council of Constans, passim; particularly the last book. —See the Lives of pope Alexander VI. and of his son, Cæsar Borgia, by Alexander Gordon.—London, 1729.

[S. page 48.]

Suffrage.—See the book of Common Prayer for the modern meaning of this word. Luther thus

expresses himself in regard to the meaning of suffragium. "Quid nos obtundit vocabulo "suffragii," quod nemo intelligit "potestatem," sed omnes "intercessionem." Resol. de Indulg. i. 122.—"Suffragia, orationes, quibus Dei sanctorum suffragia seu auxilia imploramus." Again, "Suffragia appellantur etiam orationes quæ pro defunctis dicuntur, quòd pro eis sanctorum suffragia invocentur. Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Parisensis. M. S. Cap. 55. Ap. Du Cange Glossar."

[T. page 59.]

Staupitz.—John Staupitz was a man of quality, related to the house of Saxony, and in great credit with the elector. Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. Fabricius calls him "Hominem nobilem et sui ordinis in Saxonia primarium," &c. Orig. Sax. Lib. vii. p. 859; also Melch. Ad. Vit. Staup. Mr. Roscoe in his Leo X. says, that Staupitz was vicar-general of the Augustinians. This is a mistake. He who held that office was Gabriel, a Venetian, to whom Leo applied in 1518, to interpose his authority and prevent Luther from spreading his opinions. Luth. T. i. 226. Gabriel had the *Præfectura* over the whole body of the Augustinians. Sleid. L. i.

[U. page 72.]

The Dominicans.—This Order were, it seems, the chief reporters of Luther's proceedings at Rome. Prierio's information is alluded to in many parts of the correspondence on the subject throughout Luther's works. The circumstance of the alarm coming chiefly through one quarter appears to have lessened the weight that would otherwise have been attached to it.—The following anecdote is related of Leo. One evening in a company at the house of one Scipio Atellanus at Rome, certain persons having ventured to insinuate to Leo, that it would have been well that he had shown earlier attention to the warning of the Dominicans; the pontiff is said to have replied, in a moment of convivial openness, (Seckend. p. 40.) "That brother Martin was a man of very fine genius, and that these reports proceeded from monkish envy."

[V. page 74.]

Spalatin is the person most frequently mentioned among Luther's friends at the electoral court. He was born at Spalatin in 1482, and took his name from that town. He studied at Nuremberg, Erfurt, and Wittemberg. He entered himself a student of law at Erfurt, but changed his plan, and took

orders in 1507. He assisted the studies of Otto and Ernest, Dukes of Luneburg, when they were at the university of Wittemberg. The elector Frederick of Saxony made him his chaplain and secretary. Spalatin was held in great estimation by him and his successors; so much so, that he was present at almost all the diets which were called in his time. He translated several of Erasmus' treatises, and wrote a history of Saxony, which he named *Chronicon*. He died at Altenburg in 1545, and is buried there in the church of St. Bartholomew. Seckend. p. 21, 22. Melch.—Ad.

[W. page 114.]

Leipsic disputation.—The conduct of the scribes or clerks deserves to be mentioned. John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, was employed by Luther, but without becoming a convert to his doctrine, for he was found some years after among the opponents of the Reformation. On the other hand, John Poliander, amanuensis to Eckius, joined Luther at the end of the disputation, and became a preacher of the Reformed doctrine in Prussia.

A voluminous account of this disputation is inserted in Luther's works, Vol. i. It contains what was published by the scribes, who took down the debate as it was spoken; also what was printed by Luther, Eckius, Melancthon, and Emser. See also

Seckend. from p. 72 to p. 93. Sleid. L. i. That part of the dispute which related to *free will*, &c. is stated perspicuously and in few words, by Hottinger. in Hist. de Predestinat. L. iv. Sect. 7. et seq.

[X. page 124.]

Maimbourg.—This ex-jesuit disapproves of Miltitz's moderation, and calls it an obsequiousness unworthy of the master whom he served. In this he is joined by other Catholic writers, who do not seem to take into account what opposite dispositions Miltitz had to reconcile, nor how dependent his own situation was. Miltitz had enjoyed for some years at Rome a pension of 100 florins (about 10*l.* sterling) from the elector Frederick and his brother. Seckend. p. 98. He had found it necessary to remind Frederick of this, and to express a hope that the allowance might be continued for life. To complain of poverty was not in those days accounted disreputable. We find both Eckius and Luther frequently mentioning their poverty; and, on one occasion, Miltitz is not ashamed to recommend to Frederick to send 40 or 50 florins to Cajetan. Seckend. p. 99.

To return to Maimbourg.—This author transcribes a great deal from Pallavicini, and habitually misrepresents the motives and conduct of Luther, while he palliates every thing in the behaviour of the pope's agent.

[Y. page 129.]

Letter to the Pope.—There is considerable difficulty in determining at what time of the year 1520 this letter and the accompanying treatise on Christian liberty were published. Pallavicini and Sleidan are disposed to fix the date on the 6th April, while Seckendorff has adduced a variety of reasons for supposing that it was much later in the year, perhaps in September. The latter opinion is strengthened by an expression in one of the letters of Miltitz.

[Z. page 145.]

Burning books.—The custom of burning obnoxious books is of very ancient date. The Athenians burned publicly a work of the philosopher Protagoras, in which he had spoken ambiguously of the existence of the Gods, and banished him moreover from their city and territory. Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. i. c. 23. This fact is in direct opposition to the assertions and reasoning of Mr. Gibbon in his history, first part of c. ii. With his usual desire to throw odium on Christianity, this author exerts all his ability to establish the existence of complete toleration among the Greeks and Romans;—as if he were justified in charging on the gospel that which has been done only by its corruptors.

Burning seems to have been adopted as a mode of punishment in the case of heretics and heretical books, from its being emblematical of hell fire. In these ages of disgraceful persecution, the first object was to burn the heretic, and, when that could not be accomplished, vengeance was wreaked on his books.

[A A. page 179.]

Leo X. was pope during nearly nine years. His name was John of Medicis, and his character has been very variously drawn. Cautiously as we must receive reports in an age of so much controversy, there seems abundant reason to make deductions from the flattering account lately given of him in a popular history in this country. Seckendorff (p. 190, 191) has abridged the account given of Leo by Vacillasius in his "Historia Florentina," in which it is asserted that his character was very profligate. The sudden occurrence of his death at the age of forty seven has been attributed by some to poison, and by others to the effect of a severe ulcer contracted through intemperance. The existence of this complaint was known, say these persons, to the cardinals at the time of his election, and, as it promised to cut short his days, was considered an argument for giving their votes in favour of a person considerably under the usual age. Those great masters in history, Guicciardini and father Paul,

have each drawn a character of Leo. The former observes, that such is the corruption of our manmanners, that if a "pope be not worse than ordinary men, he is certain to be regarded as an excellent pontiff." Guicciard. L. xiv. xvi. Sarpi is much more favourable to Leo, but subjoins that he would have been a perfect pontiff, if he had possessed *some knowledge of religion, or any inclination to piety.* Hist. C. T. L. i. with Courrayer's note.

That Leo chiefly delighted in the frivolous mirth of sychophants, buffoons, and jesters, is affirmed by *Matthieu Hist. de Hen. IV.* Lib. vii. T. ii. p. 716. And the little esteem he had for divines, and his preference of poetry, mythology, and other profane sciences, to those of his profession, appears even from *Pallavicini's History of the Council of Trent. (Keysler's Travels, Vol. iii. p. 94.)*

[BB. page 208.]

Bohemians.—Luther had two years before differed seriously in opinion from the "Picards." On account of their denying the real presence at the sacrament, he had not scrupled to call them heretics, a remarkable proof of the sincerity of his belief in the Romish creed at the time when he began his opposition. With the principles of another sect of Bohemians, called "Grubenheimer," Luther appears to have been imperfectly

acquainted. They were a poor, persecuted race, compelled by the Romish priests to perform their rites in dens and caverns, as is implied by their characteristic appellation. They are called "Fossarii," or ditchers, by Spanheim, Seckend. p. 95.

See a very interesting account of the unfortunate Huss in M. L'Enfant. Hist. Concil. Constan. L. iii.

[C C. page 215.]

Luther's parents.—There have been considerable differences of opinion in regard to the pecuniary circumstances of Luther's parents. It is said (Seckendorff, p. 18, 19,) that when at school, he, like other poor boys, obtained a part of his support by begging. One writer, John Micrælius, mentions in his "Church History," but without quoting any authority, that he obtained a livelihood by singing for charity. On the other hand, we are told (Seckendorff, 20.) that Luther was boarded in the house of Conradus Cotta, a man of some rank, and apparently a relation of his mother. Nay, we have the authority of Luther himself, that his parents expected, before he took the monastic vow, to marry him to a female in affluent circumstances. "*Destinabas me vincire honesto et opulento conjugio,*" is his expression, in the dedication to his father of his book on Monastic Vows. It is probable, that the circumstances of his parents, at first

humble, became improved in the course of years by his father's industry. Still it appears from the text, that Luther, when arrived at middle age, found it necessary to extend assistance to some of his relations at Mansfeld.

[D D. page 215.]

Cochlæus.—Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other writers unfavourable to Luther, made no dependence on the declarations of Cochlæus. Sleidan has described his character in the dedication to his great work. See a note by Dr. Maclaine, Mosheim. Vol. iii. p. 336. The treatise published by Luther against Cochlæus was entitled "Adversus armatum virum Cochlæum." Agreeably to the custom of the times, Luther has no scruple in punning on his name, calling him at one time "Cochlear" (a spoon); at another, "testudo" (a shell), in allusion to "cochlea" a cockle. This practice of punning on names, was used frequently by Luther, and not despised by Erasmus or his numerous correspondents. One of the latest examples of the kind was given by Milton in his controversy with Salmasius.

Luther's Essay against Cochlæus began with a parody on the first lines of the Æneid as follows:

> Arma virumque cano, Mojani qui nuper ab oris,
> Leucoream fato stolidus, Saxonaque venit
> Littora, multum ille et furiis vexatus et œstro

Vi scelerum memorem Rasorum cladis ob iram
Multa quoque et Satana passus, quo perderet verbum
Inferretque malum studiis, genus unde malorum
Errorumque Patres, atque alti gloria Papæ.
Luth. T. ii. 407.

[EE. page 226.]

Polentz was converted to the Reformed doctrine by John Brisman, a Franciscan, orginally of Koningsberg, but compelled, on account of his tenets, to leave that city. He repaired to Prussia, where he spread the doctrines of Luther with great success. He was a poet too, and some of his performances have preserved their reputation to the present day, being still sung in protestant churches on the Continent. Seckend. p. 271. Polentz was the first bishop who ordered the baptismal service to be read in the vernacular tongue. For a character of him by Luther, see Seckend. p. 298.

[FF. page 289.]

Luther's fondness for music.—Tradition has ascribed to Luther what is commonly called the hundredth psalm tune. It sometimes happened that, under an access of low spirits, he would shut

himself up for a day or two together, unwilling to admit any one to converse with him. On an occasion of this kind, Lucas Edemberger, tutor to John Ernest, brother of the young elector, John Frederick, happened, along with some other friends, to call on him. Having knocked fruitlessly at the door, they ventured to break it open, and found Luther in a kind of faint, from which music was more effectual than any thing else in recovering him.

His progress in music is explained by the following quotation which will be most intelligible to those who are something more than *amateurs*. Ex eodem Razenbergii M. S. percipitur, *vocalis*, quæ vocatur, musica, non leviter gnarum fuisse Lutherum, ita ut in lineas, sive notas canenda componere aut composita corrigere posset. Delectabatur *Gregoriano*, quæ dicitur cantu, et hymnis ac responsoriis in *figurati*, quem vocant toni legis redactis. Seckend. p. 21.

One of Luther's domestic concerts, where he himself presides, is the subject of an excellent picture by Titian, now in the collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Kinnoul, at Dupplin-castle, Scotland.

Luther was accustomed to amuse himself, likewise, by the exercise of turning, for his health. In a letter to Linccius, written so late as 1525, he desires that he would send him some better tools from Nuremberg, and adds humourously, that if other sources failed, he was willing to earn a subsistence by the labour of his hands. Seckendorff, p. 21.

[GG. page 291.]

"In the consistorial chamber at Eisleben, is shown a print of Luther said to have been wonderfully preserved from fire. The house in which he was born was not equally fortunate, having been consumed by the flames. But that the memory of the spot might not be lost, a school has been built on it. A stone bust of Luther was placed on the outside over the door. In the stove room there is also a statue of Luther, with a crucifix in his hand, and an inscription in German. "Anno 1483, ist M. Luther in diesem Hause gebohren und zu S. Peter getaufft." "In this house Dr. Martin Luther was born, in the year 1483, and was baptised in St. Peter's church." And lower down this Latin distich:

"Hostis eram Papæ sociorum pestis et hujus:
"Vox mea cum scriptis nil nisi Christus erat."

Among other relics of Luther, the people of Eisleben are in the habit of showing a wooden bedstead, on which he lay. This is said, of course, to be of extraordinary virtue. The Swedes are very fond of being thought genuine sons of Luther, and when they were in possession of this part of Germany, were persuaded to purchase and carry away a great deal more wood than could have been cut from this bedstead, and a table said to have belonged to Luther.

At the university library at Jena, there is, among the printed books, the copy of Luther's translation

of the Bible which he was in the habit of using. It bears the marks of corrections with his own hand, in various places. There is here also a volume of the impressions from the wood cuts made by the painter Cranachius. These impressions were circulated, along with inscriptions composed by Luther, and describing the pope as Antichrist. *Keysler's Travels*, 4*to*. *Vol.* iv. *p.* 145, *&c.*

I shall conclude my labours on the life of Luther with an extract from his will, a document as strongly indicative of his extraordinary cast of mind as any that is mentioned in the preceding pages. His elevation of style is the more remarkable when contrasted with the insignificance of the property of which he had to dispose.

"Notus sum in cœlo, in terra, et in inferno, et auctoritatem ad hoc sufficientem habeo, ut mihi soli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licet damnabili, et miserabili peccatori ex paterna misericordia Evangelium Filii sui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax et fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, et me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint, spreto banno Papæ, Cæsaris, Regum, Principum et Sacerdotum, imo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad dispositionem hanc, in re exigua, sufficiat, si adsit manus meæ testimonium, et dici possit, "hæc scripsit D. Martinus Luther, Notarius Dei, et testis Evangelii ejus." Seckend. L. iii. p. 651.

APPENDIX PAPERS.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

OCOLAMPADIUS, ZWINGLIUS, AND BUCER.

OCOLAMPADIUS,

Whose name in German was John Hauksheim, was born in 1482. His parents were persons of affluence, as he has himself observed in the preface to his Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah. He was sent to school at a very early age, and his rapid progress enabled his mother to prevail on her husband to relinquish the plan of placing him in the mercantile line, for a literary profession. Heilbronn, and afterwards Heidelberg, were the places of his education. He was able, it was said, to write Latin at the age of twelve; at fourteen he was made Bachelor, and, some years after, Master of Arts. He passed some time at Bologna, in the study of civil law, under a celebrated professor, but found it necessary, in consequence of bad health, to return to his native quarter, where he devoted

himself entirely to the study of divinity. It deserves to be noticed, that many eminent divines, such as Chrysostom, Luther, Calvin, Peter Martyr, Beza, Danæus, &c. happened to pass some time in the study of the law before directing their attention to theology. Ocolampadius, according to the custom of the age, devoted himself to the works of the scholastic doctors, and it is said, that while he was particularly attached to Gerson and Thomas Aquinas, he was comparatively indifferent to the works of Dunscotus. The Greek language he acquired while residing in the city of Stuttgard; and he was afterwards taught Hebrew by a scholar of Spanish extraction. From Stuttgard he went to Basil, where his imagination being warmed by his Hebrew studies, he composed no fewer than six tragedies on Scripture subjects. Under the impression that the quiet life of a monastery would be of advantage to a constitution naturally not strong, he entered into an establishment of that description, with a reservation, however, that he should not be accounted under an obligation to remain, if his health became sufficiently good to enable him to discharge the active duties of a preacher. He continued in the monastery two years; a period sufficiently long to give him a lasting impression of the folly and profligacy of the monks.

At the age of thirty-four, Ocolampadius received the degree of D. D. and assisted Erasmus in composing annotations on the New Testament, an assistance of which that distinguished scholar does not fail to make an acknowledgment. He received protection from Francis von Seckingen, the Franconian nobleman, who so generously offered a place

of refuge to Luther. Like many other scholars of the age, Ocolampadius employed Andrew Cratander, a celebrated printer at Basil, and published with him a translation of Chrysostom's commentary on the book of Genesis. He was appointed, without solicitation, divinity professor at Basil, and afterwards one of the clergymen of that city. No man could be more assiduous in the discharge of his pastoral duty. While only a deacon, he had ventured so far to depart from Romish customs as to perform baptism in the language of the country, and to administer the sacrament in both kinds. The latter was accounted an innovation of such importance as to require the sanction of the senate. He introduced also in divine worship prayers in the language of the country, a departure in those days of no small importance from the habits of the Catholics. He was engaged likewise, in several important controversies. In addition to the disputation with Luther at Marpurg, he held a public contest with Eckius at Baden, in 1527; and, in the following year, he bore a part in a public disputation at Bern, which lasted three weeks. All these debates regarded chiefly the endless controversy of the Eucharist. He was decided in administering the sacrament to the laity in both kinds; but was, notwithstanding, exceedingly desirous of restoring concord and unanimity among the reformers. None of the divines of the age surpassed him in habits of application. His death took place in 1531.

ULRIC ZWINGLIUS

Was born in Switzerland, in 1487, and gave very early indications of an ardent and enterprising disposition. His education was begun at Basil and prosecuted at Bern, where he succeeded in acquiring that comprehensive knowledge of the learned languages which laid the foundation of his future fame. Divinity becoming the object of his study, he laboured indefatigably at the Greek Testament. His reforming career was begun, as we shall presently see, very early; and to an ardour for amending the church, he added a correspondent zeal for correcting political abuses. We have seen, in the text, his premature fall in the field of battle at the head of his countrymen; and it has been mentioned likewise that his views on the subject of the sacrament were more enlarged and more analogous to Scripture than those of Luther. They have been adopted not only by the British churches, but by many on the Continent. In regard to other leading doctrines, there was no material difference between him and Luther, but it is due to Zwinglius to mention, that no part of his tenets were borrowed from his distinguished cotemporary. In the course of their studies, as well as in their constitutional courage and perseverance, there existed a remarkable coincidence.

"I began," says Zwinglius, in the exposition of his eighteenth article, "to preach the Gospel in

1516, at a time when I had not so much as heard of the name of Luther. I preached when mass was in almost universal use, and I urged that the part of the Gospel which was read to the people, should be clearly explained to them—explained not by the commentaries of men, but by comparing Scripture with Scripture. However, at that time I continued devoted to the tenets of the ancient doctors, my learning having gone only so far as to enable me to detect partial inconsistencies in them. —In 1519, when I began to preach at Zurich, I undertook to expound the Gospel of Matthew, by illustrations derived solely from Scripture. In the early part of that year we had, in our country, heard nothing of Luther, except his publication on Indulgences, a subject on which I needed no new light, having been instructed several years before, that the whole system was a tissue of deception.

"Luther, as far as I can judge, is a servant of Christ, who searches the Scriptures with greater diligence than any other person has done for these thousand years. When in such company as his, I am not averse to be called a heretic. Luther would readily declare, that the whole of our reforming labours proceeded from God. I am aware that Luther has been induced to concede many points to persons, of whose reasoning powers he has no high opinion; such, for example, as the practice of auricular confession. Though in many respects my religious creed is in conformity with his, I am not desirous to be called a Lutheran, because I learned the doctrine of Christ, not from him

but from Scripture. I hold Luther in the highest estimation, but I now declare that I have never written to him, nor received a letter from him. At the same time, I do not compare myself with Luther, for every one has what God has given him."

MARTIN BUCER

Was junior to Luther and Ocolampadius, being born at Selestad, in 1491. He became, at an early age, a member of the society of Dominicans; but having acquired a thirst for literature from the writings of Erasmus, he obtained the permission of his superiors to repair to Heidelberg, where he obtained a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. His faith in the Catholic creed began to be shaken by a perusal of Luther's first publications, and he had the good fortune to be present at the friendly disputation held at Heidelberg, between Luther and his Augustinian brethren. It was on this occasion that young Bucer became a convert to Luther's sentiments on the subject of "justification." In 1521 he was present at Worms along with Luther, and, in short, took an active part in all the conferences of the Reformers. In the grand point of controversy, the Eucharist, Bucer steered a middle course between the tenets of Luther and of Zwin-

glius; and he appears to have evinced, all along, a sincere desire to reconcile both parties, and to establish harmony among the Reformers at large. Towards the close of life he changed his place of abode, having come over to England in 1549, on the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer. Here, during the short remainder of his life, he taught at Cambridge with a reputation worthy of his former years. He died in that city in 1551; and in the gloomy period which followed under Mary, his dead body was dug up and publicly burned.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

HENRY VIII's BOOK

AGAINST LUTHER.

The title of Henry's far famed publication was "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, edita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ Rege, et Domino Hiberniæ, Henrico ejus nominis Octavo." Henry, being a younger brother, had been designed by his father to succeed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and had received, during his early years, an education adapted to an ecclesiastical station. His progress is said, by his cotemporaries, to have been rapid; nor is this improbable, when we make due allowance for his inherent ardour of character. Luther's treatise on the "Babylonish Captivity" was the ostensible cause of the royal rejoinder, but the wish to obtain from the court of Rome a divorce from his queen, the sister of the emperor Charles V. was probably the most direct motive for the publication. The professed object of the book was to refute Luther's opinion on the seven sacraments; but the impetuous disposition of Henry led him largely into extraneous matter. He begins with a defence of the doctrine of Indulgences, in which, however, there

is a much larger share of assertion than of argument. He bestows commendations with a lavish hand on Leo X. "Cujus innocens et inculpata vita, moresque sanctissimi ab ineunte ætate per orbem totum satis explorati sunt, quemadmodum in epistola quadam ad Pontificem Lutherus etiam ipse fatetur, verùm etiam tot retro sæculis omnes Romani Pontifices, qui (quod Lutherus ipse commemorat) indulgere solebant, alius remissionem annuam, alius triennem, quidam aliquot condonare quadragesimas, nonnulli certam totius pœnitentiæ partem, tertiam puto, vel dimidium; aliqui demum remissionem indulserunt, et pœnæ et culpæ plenarium. Omnes ergo (si vera dicit Lutherus) fuerunt impostores."

These compliments are followed by others couched in a still higher strain, and forming an amusing contrast to Henry's subsequent hostility to the church. In proportion as he bestows praises on Leo, he pours the most violent and scurrilous abuse on the Reformer. "Heretics, whose malignity is inveterate, and who treat pious reproof with contempt, should be restrained by the infliction of merited punishment. He who is not disposed to do well, should be made to cease from doing ill; he who has maliciously injured others, should be made to profit them by his example. If Luther will not retract, it will certainly soon come to pass, if Christian princes do their duty, that the fire will consume both his writings and himself." Luther, in allusion to the monopolizing spirit of the church of Rome, had called the papacy "Robusta venatio Episcopi Romani." This expression Henry repeats, and views, or affects to view it with great

horror. After quoting the authority of father Jerome, Henry enumerates three distinct relations under which Luther was pledged to adhere to the church, viz. as a Christian, a priest, and a brother. Modesty, he adds, should be the characteristic of ecclesiastics, but Luther has so departed from it, that he ought to be avoided as a serpent. The point, in which Henry is most successful, is the charge of inconsistency in Luther's different publications; a charge for which the Reformer's progressive change of opinion afforded a considerable handle to his adversaries. But Henry, when he ventures to argue in defence of traditionary miracles in the history of the church, finds himself on very different ground. The Romanists had contrived to render the memory of Huss so odious, that Henry considered the battle won if he could assimilate the doctrine of Luther to that of his unfortunate precursor.—In the dedication Henry expresses a boundless veneration for all the tenets maintained by the head of the church; and in a strain of great humility expresses a hope that his Holiness will cooperate with him against Luther, as well as that his book may lead to a detection of the origin of this accursed heresy. Amidst all this grave reasoning, he ventures to introduce some ludicrous allusions, and makes himself very merry with ridiculing Luther's *conspicilia*. He discovers a knowledge of Luther's private history, which could have been obtained only by communications from Germany.—I allude more particularly to the intention entertained by Luther of taking refuge among the Bohemians.

The contumelious manner in which Luther had spoken of the conduct of the clergy afforded Henry either a motive or a pretext for pouring out a vehement invective against him. He has no scruple in accusing the Reformer of falsehood, of abuse of Scripture, of taking Mahomet for his model, and even of being guilty of blasphemy. Viewed on the score of temper, the book affords a fair indication of the future violence of the royal author; but considered in another light, I mean its claim to reputation as a theological disquisition, our opinion of the work will be less unfavourable. There is indeed little or no novelty in the reasoning, the substance of it being found in other defences of popery, and consisting chiefly of successive references to the authority of the church. Neither is much erudition discovered in the occasional allusions to the works of Jerome or Augustine; but as a combination of the current arguments in defence of popery, the book is entitled to considerable approbation. The praise given to it must be relative, of course, to the rude state of theology at the time; and however inferior the work may now be accounted, the author, whether Henry himself, or, as Luther suspected, Wolsey, was entitled to hold a distinguished place among the adversaries of the Reformer.

CAJETAN'S LETTER

TO

FREDERICK,

ON LUTHER'S APPEARANCE BEFORE HIM AT AUGSBURG.

Epistola Thomæ Caietani, Titulis Sixti Presbyteri Cardinalis, ad D. Fredericum, Saxoniæ Ducem, sacri Imperii Electorem, &c. De Lutheri causa, post discessum ejusdem Lutheri ex Augusta, Anno M.D.XVII.

Illustrissime et Excellentissime Princeps, venit frater Martinus Lutherus cum literis Excellentiæ vestræ, et antequam nos adiret, voluit se munire salvo conductu, quem ab illis Dominis, Cæsareæ Majestatis Consiliariis, vestræ illustrissimæ Dominationis intuitu et favore impetravit. Non tamen sine scitu meo, nolucrunt enim hi Domini quidquam illi concedere, nisi me permittente. Quibus respondi, facerent quidquid eis placeret, dummodo nomen meum non misceretur. Et hìc cœpi mirari, nam si Excellentia vestra in me confidebat, non erat opus salvo conductu; si non confidebat, non erat mittendus ad me ut Patrem.

Adiit deinde nos frater Martinus, primum excusans se super impetratione salvi conductûs

propter inimicitias, &c. Deinde dicens, se venisse, ut nos audiret, et veritatem a nobis agnitam profiteretur. Nos hominem libentissimè ac humanissimè excepimus, paternèque complexi sumus. Dixi ante omnia, quod secundum solidam Scripturam sacram et sacros Canones interrogandus esset, et quòd si se cognosceret, et de cætero caveret, possemusque secure dormire, ne reverteretur ad vomitum, omnia componerem, sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ Leonis X. auctoritate.

Ostendi deinde, monuique paternè, disputationes et sermones ejus, esse contra Apostolicam doctrinam, maximè super Indulgentiis, citavique extravagantem Clementis VI. apertè contra ipsum stantem, tam super causa, quam effectu Indulgentiarum.—Adduxi præterea antiquam et communem Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, ac interpretationem super alto etiam articulo de fide sacramentorum aperui, admonuique opinionem ejus non esse sanam, sed manifestè dissentire a sacra Scriptura et recta Ecclesiæ doctrina, quæ illi omnino repugnat. Is ad extravagantem claram et apertam dixit nescio quid relatione indignum, et petiit diem ad deliberandum, rediturumque se affirmavit. Ego illum hortatus, ut se cognosceret, demisi.

Rediitque postridiè, una cum patre vicario generali congregationis observantium, multisque stipatus. Et cum expectarem, ut se verè agnosceret, cæpit coram notario, quem secum duxerat, protestari; ego id subridens, iterum humanissimè hominem hortatus sum, ut relicto hujuscemodi inani consilio, ad cor et sanitatem rediret, durum esse illi contra stimulum calcitrare. Addidit deinceps, in scriptis se velle mihi respon-

dere, et causam suam agere, me anteriore die satis digladiatum verbis cum illo fuisse. Ego audaciam hominis miratus, dixi, Fili, neque tecum digladiatus sum, neque digladiari volo; tantum paratus sum intuitu illustrissimi ducis Frederici, te paterne ac benigne (non disputandi contendendive gratia) audire, ac pro veritate monere ac docere, conciliare etiam (si voles) sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ Leoni X. et Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

Rogavit me tum is, tum Vicarius ejus, ut illum in scriptis audire vellem. Dixi me libentissimè auscultaturum, et facturum omnia paternè, non tamen judicialitèr. Itaque abiit, reversusque postea tertio est, et longam scripto exhibuit phylacteriam, in qua fatuè admodum respondet ad constitutionem Extravagantis Papæ, nec parcit etiam suæ sanctitati, quam dicit abuti auctoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ. Ad illud vero de fide Sacramentorum implet papyrum locis sacræ Scripturæ omnino impertinentibus et perperàm intellectis.

Ego postquam ostendi non ita esse intelligendum quod in illa extravagante et sacris literis scriptum est; iterum atque iterum fratrem Martinum ut filium monui et obtestatus sum, nollet plus sapere, quam oporteret, nec nova dogmata in Ecclesiam intrudere, sed seipsum cognoscere, et salvare animam suam.

Venit ad me deindè pater vicarius congregationis cum quo præsente, magnifico Domino Urbano Oratore montis ferrati, et uno magistro theologiæ dicto Ordinis, multasque horas tractavimus de negotio hoc, ut tolleretur scandalum, salva reverentia Apostolicæ Sedis, et sine ulla nota fratris Martini,

Venit postea solus ille theologiæ Magister, socius fratris Martini, qui probavit et collaudavit tractatum.

Jactis his fundamentis, cum bene sperarem omnia, profectus est hinc idem vicarius, insalutato hospite, ac me omnino nescio. Subsequutus est deinde frater Martinus, et socii ejus, mihique omnino, imò sibi, perbellè illuserunt. Accepi interea fratris Martini literas, quibus petit fucatam veniam, non ideò vero revocat maledicta et scandala, quæ catholicæ ecclesiæ concussit.

Ego, illustrissime Princeps, fraudulentum fratris Martini et sequacium consilium, non solum admiratus sum, verum etiam prorsus perhorrui et obstupui. Cum enim de bona illius valetudine maximè sperarem, maximè sum frustratus. Non video tamen cujus fiducia hæc agat.

In causa verò tria affirmaverim. Primo, dicta fratris Martini in conclusionibus suis disputativè esse posita, in sermonibus tamen ab eo scriptis, affirmativè et assertivè esse posita et confirmata in vulgari Germanico, ut aiunt. Ea autem sunt partim contra doctrinam Apostolicæ Sedis, partim verò damnabilia. Et credat mihi illustrissima dominatio vestra, qui vera dico et loquor, ex certa scientia non ex opinionibus.

Secundo, illustrissimam illam vestram dominationem hortor et rogo, consulas honori et conscientiæ suæ, vel mittendo fratrem Martinum ad *Urbem*, vel ejiciendo extra terras suas, postquam non vult paterna via errorem suum cognoscere et cum universali Ecclesia bene sentire.

Postremo, illud sciat illustrissima Dominatio

vestra nequaquam hoc tam grave et pestilens negotium posse diu hærere, nam Romæ prosequentur causam, quando ego lavi manus meas, et ad sanctissimum Dominum, Dominum nostrum hujuscemodi fraudes scripsi.

Benè et felicitèr valeat Excellentia vestra cui me intime commendo. Ex Augusta Vindelicorum xxv. die Octobris, Anno M.D.XVIII.

Iterum atque iterum rogo, ut dominatio vestra illustrissima non permittat se decipi a dicentibus, "Nihil mali continent fratris Martini Lutheri dicta;" nec ponat maculam in gloriam majorum suorum et suam, propter unum fraterculum, ut toties promisit: Ego loquor puram veritatem, et servabo Jesu Christi regulam: A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Hæc pauca manu propria.

E. V. et illustriss. D.

ad obsequia

THOMAS,

S. Sixti Cardinalis, Legatus Apostolicæ Sedis.

LUTHER'S REJOINDER TO CAJETAN'S LETTER.

Epistola D. Martini Lutheri ad illustrissimum et clementissimum D. Fredericum, Saxoniæ ducem, &c. In qua respondet ad ea, de quibus eum Legatus Apostolicus accusat, in literis suis ad prædictum Saxoniæ Electorem ex Augusta missis.

Illustrissimo et vere optimo Principi, D. Friderico Electori, sacri Romani imperii Archimarschallo Duci Saxoniæ, Præsidi Thuringæ, Marchioni Misnensi, Domino suo clementissimo, deditum mancipium, F. Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus, felicitatem, et quidquid potest oratio peccatoris.

Accepi, clementissime ac illustrissime Princeps, per amicissimum meum Dominum Georgium Spalatinum, literas una cum exemplo literarum Reverendissimi Domini Thomæ Cajetani, Tituli S. Sixti Cardinalis, Sedis Apostolicæ Legati, voluntate illustrissimæ dominationis tuæ ad me misso. Accepi autem et reverenter et hilariter. Video enim pulcherrimam totius causæ meæ exponendæ occasionem

datam. Unum solum ab illustrissima celsitudine tua precatus fuero, ut sordidum hunc et mendicum fraterculum splendor magnitudinis tuæ, clementissime, tolleret balbutientem.

Primùm vere scribit Reverendus D. Cardinalis me salvo conductu voluisse muniri meam Augustæ præsentiam. Neque id feci aut meo aut illustrissimæ dominationis tuæ consilio, sed amicorum singulorum et omnium, quibus fueram literis commendatus, excepto uno, magnifico Domino Urbano oratore, qui solus multis verbis dissuasit. Sed necesse fuit mihi, ut omnes præferrem uni, ne si quid temerè mihi contigisset, me contempsisse scriberent, et illustrissimæ dominationis tuæ commendationem, et ipsorum fidelissimam operam. Deinde non capitosi, sed naturalis affectus est, multos Germanos antea cognitos, atque vita et auctoritate celebres, a me Germano præferri uni Italo. Ipsa enim natio et multitudo me, spero, justissimè excusabunt, ne orator ille dominus magnificus se a me contemptum possit causari.

Non ergo tua, illustrissime princeps, diffidentia arguenda fuit, imò plus in reverendissimum dominum Legatum confisum est, quam speraverant amici, ita ut meam temeritatem mirarentur, seu (ut ipsi honorabant) audaciam, quod sine conductu essem ingressus Augustam. Mandaverat enim mihi illustrissima tua dominatio per Spalatinum meum, non esse mihi necessarium salvum conductum, adeò illustrissima tua celsitudo omnia bona de reverend. Legato præsumebat.

Percurram et cætera epistolæ reverendissimi domini Legati membra, ac paucis respondebo ad ea.

„ Verè scribit me tandem comparuisse, et dilationem accessus, ac salvi conductus impetrationem excusasse. Dicebam enim me a magni ordinis utriusque status viris fuisse monitum, ne muros Wittembergæ egrederer, esse enim mihi insidias aut ferri, aut veneni paratas. Deinde addidi et causam prædictam, scilicet amicorum studium nomine illustrissimæ dominationis tuæ mihi consulentium. Obtuli itaque me prostratum ante pedes Reverendissimi domini Legati, et omni reverentia et humilitate petii veniam, si quid temerè vel dixissem vel egissem, esseque me paratissimum doceri et duci (sicut et hodie sentio) in saniorem sententiam.

Hic me reverendissimus Dominus Legatus paternè et clementissimè suscepit, commendans et congratulans huic meæ humilitati; statim tria mihi facienda proposuit, de mandato Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ Leonis X. sicut aiebat (nam exemplar breve petenti denegabat).

Primùm, ut redirem ad cor, et erratus meos revocarem. Secundò, ut promitterem, in futurum, abstinere ab eisdem. Tertiò, ut ab omnibus quoque aliis abstinerem, quibus perturbari possit Ecclesia.

Ad primum petii, ut monstraret mihi, in quonam errassem; mox id objecit, quod conclusione 7. inter declarandum dixeram, " oportere eum, qui ad sacramentum accedit credere, se consecuturum gratiam sacramenti." Hanc enim doctrinam esse contra sacram Scripturam et rectam Ecclesiæ doctrinam voluit. Ego verò constantèr dixi in eo puncto me non esse cessurum, sicut nec hodiè neque in æternam

sum cessurus. Tunc ipse: "Velis, nolis, hodie oportebit te revocare, alioqui vel propter hunc locum omnia tua dicta damnabo."

Et quanquam dicebat sese non opinionibus doctorum, sed Scripturis sanctis et canonibus mecum acturum, nec syllabam tamen Scripturæ contra me produxit, cum ego contra multas Scripturas pro me adducerem, ut videri potest in schedula responsionis meæ. Nisi quod de efficacia Sacramentorum mihi concilia recitabat, quæ non negavi, neque contra me erant. Labebatur tamen inter dicendum semper in opiniones Doctorum. Et expecto, peto, rogo usque hodiè unam Scripturæ auctoritatem, vel sanctorum patrum, quæ sit contra meam hanc sententiam.

Et, ut tibi, illustrissime Princeps, ex corde loquar, doleo totis visceribus hanc rem fidei nostræ in Ecclesia non solùm dubiam et ignotam, sed etiam falsam putari. Verùm, optime Princeps, coram Deo et Angelis ejus protestor, fiat de alia mea Responsione quicquid fieri potest, sit falsa, sit contra extravagantem, sit damnanda, sit revocanda, faciam hìc omnia, si ita oporteat. Hanc autem sententiam moriens confitebor, et omnia potius negabo, quam illam revocabo. Nam sive merita Christi sint thesaurus indulgentiarum, non ideo indulgentiarum, non ideo indulgentiis aliquid accedit, sive non sint, nihil ideo decedit. Manent indulgentiæ id quod sunt, quocunque tandem nomine honorentur et inflentur. Nec sum ideo malus Christianus, si indulgentias nolim, quas ille tantùm solas extollit et pro eis pugnat. Sed, si hanc fidei sententiam mutavero, Christum negavero. Sic sapio, sic

sapiam, donec contraria sententia per scripturas fuerit probata, et adductæ per me auctoritates dissolutæ, quod nondum est factum, neque fiet, (Deo propitio) unquam.

Deinde quia indulgentiæ movebant plus, quam materia illa fidei, sicut et scribit, maxime (inquit) super indulgentiis, attulit extravagantem Clementis VI. contra propositionem meam LVIII. ubi negavi merita sanctorum et Christi esse thesaurum indulgentiarum, sicut adhuc nego, saltem ut jacent et sonant verba, quantumcunque ipse claram apertamque jactet extravagantem, ego contra obscuram ambiguam, impropriam dico, sicut in responsione mea priori patet.

Quod autem in literis suis scribit, me dixisse ad extravagantem "nescio quid relatione indignum," hoc tanquam Laico scribit. Illud indignum relatione (ut odium verbi illius revelem, et appareat, an hoc sit paternè me quærere) hoc fuit, illustrissime princeps, quod dixi extravagantem illam non satis valere contra meam conclusionem, maximè cum torqueat in alienum sensum Scripturas et abutatur eis; hoc verbum, torquere et abuti, mire torquebat hominem et adhuc torquet, ut indicant literæ ejus. Voluit enim et vult verba humana pontificis simpliciter accepi, non habita ratione, an consentiant cum Scripturis, necne.

Verùm, optime princeps, permittat celsitudo tua, ut et ego tanquam coram laico hanc rem tractem; id est crassè et apertè. Volo interim oblivisci acerrimum illud et omnibus doctissimis quoque formidabile judicium, quo Deus insignivit præ omnibus, quos nostra vidit ætas, ingenium prin-

cipis Frederici. Dico itaque non esse rarum atque novum, Scripturas sanctas a Pontificibus et doctoribus sanctis fuisse tortas, et in alienum sensum ductas, quod ne multis agam etiam crasso cuique bubulco clarum faciam, uno extra propositum (ut vocant) exemplo adducto.

Dicit decretalis quædam, constitutionibus, "translato sacerdotio, necesse est, ut legis fiat translatio." Hæc verba Apostoli sunt apud Hebræos, cap. 7. docentis temporale sacerdotium et legem abrogata et finita, succedente æterno sacerdotio Christi. Hæc est propria et genuina sententia verborum Apostoli.

At in decretali ost ista sententia, "sacerdotium Christi est translatum in S. Petrum," sic enim Juristæ interpretantur. Quis non videt alienam esse hanc intelligentiam, et prorsus talem, quæ nisi multo sudore moderetur, sit impiissima. Impiissimum omnium enim est dicere, sacerdotium Christi æternum esse translatum, id est, abrogatum et finitum; et legem ejus æternam esse abrogatam et translatam, ut Petrus sit sacerdos et legislator, amoto Christo.

Nolo Petrum aut Paulum habere sacerdotem, quoniam et ipse peccator est, non habens, quod neque pro se neque quod pro me offerat. Ut interim taceam, quod in solum Petrum a Christo translatum dicitur, quasi cæteri Apostoli laici remanserint, aut a S. Petro in Apostolos ordinati fuerint. Quanto rectius ergo non sacerdotium, sed ministerium tantum sacerdotiique in Petrum positum intelligeretur, aut alio quocunque sensu, qui illæsum permittat germanum Apostoli sensum.

Nunquid ergo male dico, si in faciem hujus decretalis dixero, hanc contrariam propositionem ra-

cerdotium Christi cum sit æternum, non est translatum in S. Petrum: aut etiam hic me coget reverendissimus Dominus Legatus, ut verum sensum negem, et decretalis sensum solum amplectar? Talia sunt in jure Canonico multa, quibus (ut cum fiducia loquar) si non corrupta, certe obscurata est Scriptura.

Tale quid in extravagantem a me factum est nam certissimum est merita Christi non posse per hominem dispensari. Deinde etiam ipsa potius imponunt, quam relaxant bona opera (quod est indulgentias esse) pœnitentiæ, ut Petrus apertè dicit. "Christus pro nobis passus est, vobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia ejus." Non ait, passus est pro vobis, ne vos pateremini aut ut vos relaxaremini, sed exemplum reliquit sequendi, non reliquit thesaurum omittendi, &c.

Hæc est enim proprie virtus meritorum Christi, amare ad opus, non ponere cervical, et ponere pulvinos sub cubitis et capitibus, ut ait propheta Ezechiel. Ideo contra extravagantem, imo contra malum ejus intellectum opposui, et adhuc oppono. Nec est ista communis Ecclesiæ consuetudo, quam jactat, sed corruptela et abusus, contra Scripturæ veritatem militans.

Igitur permitto extravagantem esse veram, sed nego sensum ejus esse, quem adducta verba Scripturæ habent in suo loco, quæ verba utique vera fuerunt plus quam per duodecim annorum centenaria, ante constitutionem hujus extravagantis. Neque ab extravagante, vel a tempore ejus primum veritatem acceperunt. Nam si ista verba Scripturæ de indulgentiis debent intelligi proprio et genuino

sensu, jam possent ex sacra Scriptura probari et demonstrari indulgentiæ, quod ad unum omnes constantissimè negant.

Igitur volo utrumque servare, et dicitur mihi, "imo istum (scilicet pejorem sensum) servabis, alterum (scilicet meliorem) negabis." Ego autem nolo, sed sufficere puto, verbo hominis me tantum reverentiæ gradum dedisse, ut verum esse confitear. Nolo verbum Dei, qui mentiri (ut ille) non potest, propter illius verbum negare. Non igitur "relatione indignum" est (nisi dum alteri velis mortem et perditionem moliri sine causa) dicere quod Papa aut sancti Patres aliquoties torserint Scripturas, et in alienum sensum abusi sint, aut si id pertinaciter negatur, jam et Papam et sanctos hæreticos et impios faciemus, ut quos manifestum est, alium sequi sensum, quam sit in Scriptura, et id non paucis locis, neque rarò.

Huc usque prima die actum est, id est, duo ista objecta sunt. Petii enim diem ad deliberandum, et abii. Non enim e re mea fore vidi, verbis rem agere, quod ille, loco Pontificis sedens, quidquid diceret, ratum apud me esse voluit; rursum, quidquid ego opponerem exibilatum fuit explosum, imo derisum, etiamsi sacras adveherem literas. Nam omitto dicere, quod potestatem Papæ, et supra Scripturas, et supra concilia tollere conabatur, allegans, quomodo jam Papæ concilium Basiliense abrogasset. Cum rursus Parisiensis universitatis appellationem allegassem, "Videbunt," inquit, "pœnas suas."—Tandem nescio quos Gersonistas damnavit, nam Basiliense concilium, aut certe Gersonem allegaveram in resolutionibus, quod hominem movebat. Breviter paternitas illa toties

illustrissimæ tuæ dominationis promissa erga me, in hoc constitit, aut vim me passurum, aut revocaturum, non enim disputare sese mecum velle aiebat. Ideoque consilium fuit, scriptis respondere, quæ id certe oppressis præbent solatium, quòd aliorum quoque judicio examinari possunt, et nonnihil conscientiæ atque timoris incutiunt, alioqui verbis prævalenti.

Altera itaque die redii, et mecum reverendus pater Vicarius Johannes Staupitzius, qui interim advenerat, præsentibusque quatuor insignibus viris Cæsareæ majestatis senatoribus, cæpi coram notario, quem adduxeram, protestari, me nihil velle dicere, aut dicturum esse unquam, quod contra sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ doctrinam esset, paratumque esse doceri ac duci, sicubi errassem, subjiciens mea dicta summo Pontifici. Deinde quatuor universitatibus, Basiliensi, Friburgensi, Lovaniensi, tandem si hoc non essit satis, etiam ipsi parenti studiorum, Parisiensi, ut schedula protestationis meæ indicat.

Hic iterum ridens meum hoc consilium, cæpit monere, ut ad cor redirem, veritatemque agnoscerem, velle sese rursum me reconciliare ecclesiæ, et summo pontifici, et his similia, quasi jam hæreticus, apostata et extra ecclesiam essem declaratus. Sed cum ego non verbis, sed scriptis respondere promitterem, et peterem, satis fuisse mecum anteriori die *digladiatum*. Hoc verbum, *digladiatum*, mordicùs apprehendit, et ridens, Fili mi, inquit, non sum tecum digladiatus, nec volo tecum digladiari, sed monere, et intuitu illustrissimi principis Frederici, paternè ac benignè audire. Hoc est (ut ego

cogebar intelligere) ad nihil aliud quàm ad revocationem urgere. Displicuit enim merito stultitia mea, quod pro disputare vel contendere (quod anteriori die egimus, re ipsa, si non oportet negare) digladiari dixeram, elegantius, quam tunc res ipsa postulabat.

Interim, me tacente, surgit reverendus dominus vicarius, petens, ut me (sicut et ipse petieram) in scriptis audiret. Quod tandem vix obtinuimus, nam publicam disputationem noluit, privatim quoque negabat se mecum disputaturum. In scriptis etiam respondere simpliciter usque ad eam horam me noluit concedere, solummodo revocandi verbum inculcabat. Quod si fecissem, non dubito omnia fuisse vel paternissimè composita, benignissimus enim vir est, meo judicio, sed qui revocare libentissime audivisset.

Tertio reversus, obtuli responsiones ad objecta duo in scriptis, quas primò multa et inania verba esse dixit, (sicut et nunc scribit) me admodum fatuè respondisse, et implevisse papyrum locis scripturæ impertinentibus, seseque veram eorum intelligentiam dedisse. Verum cum dixissem tandem pro me stare, quod extravagans dicit, Christum suis passionibus acquisivisse thesaurum Ecclesiæ suæ, statim arripuit codicem, legit et in verbum acquisivit, impegit, sedulo tamen dissimulans sese impegisse.

Surgens tandem dixit: Vade, inquit, aut revoces, aut in conspectum meum non revertaris. Ego verò mox abii, credens me simpliciter non reverti audere, quandoquidem propositum non revocandi formaveram, nisi aliùd docerer. Taceo quod rumor circumferebatur, permissum esse a reverendo patre

generali, me capiendum et in vincula, nisi revocarem, conjiciendum. Mansi tamen Augustæ eodem die. Erat tum feria sexta.

Post prandium vocato reverendo patre vicario, tractavit cum eo, ut me ad revocationem adduceret, sine mea nota, ut hic scribit, id est, cum perpetua infamia, quæ solet eos sequi, qui timore hominum contra conscientiam abnegant veritatem. Quod ille quidem fecit, sed rogatus, ut Scripturas mihi solveret, dicebat, supra vires suas esse, et ego, contra conscientiam meam esse revocare, nisi Scripturæ mihi aliter elucidarentur. Mansi deinde, et sabbato toto nihil dicebatur, nihil mandabatur. Mansi et sequenti Dominica, ubi saltem per literas adii reverendissimum Dominum Legatum, sed nihil fiebat. Mansi et feria secunda; mansi et feria tertia. Et suspectum mihi et omnibus amicis silentium factum est. Ideo timens vim, et appellatione disposita, reliqui Augustam, et feria quarta recessi, confidens me præstitisse abundè arduam et fidelem obedientiam summo Pontifici, juxta tenorem citationis si quid autem ultra prosequentur, vigore ejusdem, nihil mirum, si injuriam patiar. Deinde video, optime princeps, quòd verè Deus in altis habitet, et comprehendat astutos in astutia sua. Dicit enim, tria affirmaverim in hac causa.

" Primò, dicta fratris Martini, in conclusionibus suis disputativè, in sermonibus tamen ab eo scriptis affirmativè, et assertivè esse posita."

Respondeo: si disputativè posita intelligit, quid ergo me miserum et pauperem hominem tot molestiis vexant, tot sumptibus extenuant, tot criminibus et ignominiis afficiunt, tot scandala et propè

schismata excitant? Sunt disputationes, (inquit,) gratias ago, absolutus sum. Imo et damnati sunt omnes, qui me in jus vocaverunt, ipse enim reverendissimus dominus Legatus his verbis testis nobis sit, se frustra et iniqua ratione omnia contra me egisse, et ista quoque non sincerè scripsisse. An nondum pudet eos suæ tyrannidis, quam proprio testimonio tam clarè confitentur? Quid enim disputationi potest objici criminis? Quid disputatori, qualem hic me confitetur? Quid istis literis voluit? An ut nosceremus fratrem Martinum nihil egisse, nisi diputasse? Ideòque contra eum motos fuisse ejus adversarios, ipsumquemet reverendissimum dominum Legatum, et non nisi insidiosè calumniam et injuriam ei molitos fuisse? Nam super disputatione fuit citatus, non super sermonibus, super sermones enim postquam fuerat citatus, facti sunt certiores, quos ego faciliùs defendam (deo propitio) quàm ipsas disputationes. Nam hìc multa dubitavi et ignoravi, illìc loquutus sum ex certa scientia, et non ex opinionibus.

Nunc hoc videamus, quod ea, quæ in sermonibus dixi, partim damnabilia, partim contra doctrinam Apostolicæ sedis asserit. Quia scilicet ei aliud est, esse damnabile, et aliud esse contra doctrinam sedis Apostolicæ. Forte quod damnabilis non est, qui contra doctrinam Sedis Apostolicæ loquitur. Ac sic iterum absolvor et justificor, qui in hoc maximè et solùm accusatus sum, et citatus, quod contra doctrinam sedis Apostolicæ fuerim loquutus, id est, non damnabiliter, ut hìc distinguitur.

Quam vellem, illustrissime Princeps, hanc epis-

tolam ab aliquo Silvestro Prieriate fuisse scriptam, ut libertate plena ingenii eam liceret excutere. Ostenderem profecto, quàm difficile sit, malam et sinistram conscientiam dextera operire specie. At nunc reverentia optimi et humanissimi viri cogit me bullientis cordis mei premere æstus usque in aliud tempus.

Sed hoc pati non possum, quod ex prudentissimo et acerrimi judicii principe, nobis quendam facere Pilatum conatur. Nam cum Judæi Christum coram Pilato statuissent, et interrogati fuissent, "Quam accusationem afferrent, aut quid mali fecisset homo ille?" dixerunt, "Si non esset malefactor, non tibi tradidissemus eum." Ita et hic reverendissimus dominus Legatus, cum fratrem Martinum principi obtulisset, multis odiosis verbis, et princeps interrogare posset,—"Quid fecit fraterculus ille?" respondet: "Credat mihi, illustrissime princeps, dominatio vestra, quia vera loquor ex certa scientia, non ex opinionibus." Respondebo ego pro principe; Fac, ut sciam hanc esse certam scientiam, ponatur in scriptis, formetur in literas, non vereatur publicum et lucem. Quod ubi factum fuerit, tunc mittam fratrem Martinum ad Urbem, imo ipse eum capiam et interficiam. Tunc consulam honori meo et conscientiæ meæ, et non ponam maculam in gloriam meam. Donec autem illa certa scientia lucem fuget, et non nisi voce tantum prodit, nolo in tenebris confidere quando nec lux satis tuta est. Sic enim ego responderem, princeps illustrissime, verum nec doctore, nec consule eget illustrissima tua prudentia. Nam crassæ istæ Italitates (ut sic

dixerim) et Romanitates, jam pueris quoque cantatæ sunt.

Nunc judicet illustrissima dominatio tua, quid amplius facere debui aut debeo. Per pericula tanta vitæ et salutis, contra omnium amicorum consilium comparui, ut et hodie dicant, me non fuisse obligatum comparere. Deinde coram reverendissimo domino Legato, reddidi rationem dictorum meorum. Poteram legitima libertate unum verbum respondisse, nec me in aliquam examinationem dare, præsertim, cum resolutiones meæ essent oblatæ et significatæ summo Pontifici, ita ut ad me nihil pertineret hæc causa nisi ut expectarem sententiam, nam in arbitrium Ecclesiæ a me translatum jam reposueram, et tamen ob reverentiam reverendissimi domini Legati passus sum ultra hæc me etiam examinari. Non ego fraudulentus fui, sed vim justissimo timore declinavi. Nihil me omisisse video, nisi sex istas literas "REVOCO." Cæterum damnent, doceant, interpretentur, vel reverendissimus dominus Legatus, vel ipse summus Pontifex, non autem dicant solum, "errasti, maledixisti," sed in scriptis signent errorem, probent maledictum, rationem, quam debent, reddant, dissolvant Scripturas a me inductas. Doceant sicut jactant, verbis sese fecisse, instruant doceri cupientem, petentem, volentem, expectantem, quæ nec Turcus homo mihi negaret. Ubi videro aliter intelligenda, quam intellexi si tunc non revocavero, et meipsum non damnavero, illustrissime princeps, tua celsitudo sit prima, quæ persequatur me, expellat me, obruant me viri Academiæ nostræ, denique cælum et terram contra me invoco, perdatque

me ipse Dominus meus Jesu Christus. Loquor et ego ex certa scientia, et non ex opinionibus, nolo mihi Dominum Deum ipsum, nolo ullam creaturam Dei mihi fore propitiam, si edoctus meliora sequutus non fuero.

Quod si me fraterculum et mendicum præ nimia conditionis meæ utilitate contempserint docere et in viam veritatis reducere, age faciat tua illustrissima celsitudo, et oret reverendissimum dominum Legatum, ut saltem tuæ celsitudini scribat, in quibus erraverim, et quomodo me errorem emendare oporteat, ut saltem per illustrissimam tuam dominationem audire merear, quibus rationibus, quibus auctoritatibus errorem meum confutare possint. Quòd si etiam illustrissimæ tuæ dominationi hoc denegaverint, scribant id vel Imperatori vel Archiepiscopo alicui in Germania. Quid enim aliud possum facere? Mira res est quod errasse arguor, et obtinere non possum (nec per tantum principem) in quibus, et quare, ipsi me errasse putent.

Videat igitur tua illustrissima dominatio, disputationem publicam mihi negat (quam usque hodie vel Lipsiæ, vel Erphordiæ, vel Hallis, vel Magdeburgi, vel ubicunque tuæ dominationis valet imperium, seu salvus conductus, non detrecto, quin etiam oro, et utinam exorem;) privatam similiter negat. In scriptis etiam ostendere errorem negat. Quatuor illustrissimarum Academiarum judicia recusat. Si nunc id addat, ut illustrissimi ac potentissimi principis petitionis rejiciat, quomodo possum aliud quam meram vim et insidias suspicari?

Iterum ego quoque atque iterum et tertio iterum rogo, illustrissima dominatio tua non credat iis qui

dicunt fratrem Martinum malè dixisse, antequam audiatur et doceatur malè dixisse. Erravit Petrus etiam post acceptum Spiritum sanctum, etiam errare potest unus Cardinalis, quantumlibet doctus.

Consulat igitur illustrissima dominatio tua honori suo, et conscientiæ suæ, non mittendo me ad Urbem. Homo enim non habet hoc mandare illustrissimæ dominationi tuæ, cum sit impossibile me tutum fore in Urbe, et id nihil aliud esset, quam illustrissimæ dominationi tuæ mandare, ut traderet sanguinem Christiani, et fieret homicida, ubi nec ipse summus Pontifex satis tutò vivit. Habent papyrum, et calamos, et atramentum in Urbe, habent infinitos notarios; facile erit in papyrum signare, in quibus et quare erraverim. Possum levioribus expensis doceri absens per literas, quam perdi per insidias præsens.

Unum ego intimo corde dolco, quod literis suis reverendissimus dominus Legatus obliquè mordet illustrissimam dominationem tuam, quasi fiducia potentiæ celsitudinis tuæ moliar ista omnia. Sic enim et apud nos quidam sycophantæ jactaverunt, tuæ celsitudinis hortatu et consilio, me ista disputasse, cum hujus disputationis nullus, etiam intimorum amicorum fuerit conscius, nisi reverendissimus dominus archiepiscopus Magdeburgensis, et dominus Hieronymus episcopus Brandenburgensis. Hos enim, sicut intererat eorum ista monstra prohibere, ita privatis literis antequam disputationem ederem, humiliter et reverenter monui, ut super oves Christi vigilarent adversus lupos istos. Bene sciebam hæc non ad principes laicos, sed ad episcopos primum referenda. Extat epistola mea, mul-

torum in manus devoluta, horum omnium testis, ista ego feci.

Sed quod nunc vellet reverendissimus dominus Legatus tuæ illustrissimæ dominationi maculam inurere, totique sanguini domus Saxoniæ, et in invidiam summi Pontificis vocare, adeo homines hodie credunt, Christum esse sepultum, quasi non et nunc per asinam loqui possit, et apostolis apostolicisque viris tacentibus, per ligna lapidesque clamare.

Verum opto, oro, cupio, ut illustrissima tua dominatio in omnibus adhæreat ecclesiæ et summo Pontifici, mihi vero in omnibus adversetur. Nisi id unum pro me (imo pro sancta veritate, pro ecclesiæ, et pro summi Pontificis, denique pro ipsius reverendissimi domini Legati honore, denique pro illustrissima tuæ dominationis fama quoque) supplicet, ut rationes et auctoritates appareant aliquando, quibus error meus convinci putatur. Nam sine his me damnare, neque tuæ illustrissimæ dominationi, neque summo Pontifici, neque ecclesiæ, neque reverendissimo domino Legato honorificum fuerit.

Vivunt fideles, vivit Christus, vivunt vel homines certe, qui judicent.

Quod vero reverendissimus dominus Legatus, illustrissimam tuam dominationem admonet, ut nisi in *Urbem* me miserit, vel ejecerit e regionibus suis, Romæ causam prosecuturi sint, &c. In exilium ire non magnopere abnuo, ut cui undique ab adversariis meis insidias parari videam, neque facile usquam tutò degere possum. Quid enim ego miser et humilis monachus sperem, imo quid non timeam discrimînis? Quid non metuam mali ab æmulis meis, cum illustrissimam quidem tuam domina-

tionem, quamvis tantum principem, tantum Romani Imperii sacri Electorem, tantum Christianæ religionis cultorem, non dubitent ita insigniter offendere, ut multo meliora meritò minari videantur, nescio quam calamitatem, nisi me vel in *Urbem* mittat, vel e terris suis ejiciat. Quapropter, ne illustrissimæ tuæ dominationi quidquam meo nomine mali (quod minimè omnium velim) accidat, ecce regiones tuas relinquo, iturus quo Deus misericors voluerit, et ejus divinæ voluntati me in omnem permissurus eventum. Nihil enim minus sequor, quam ut quisquam mortalium mea causa (nedum illustrissima dominatio tua) vel invidiam, vel in periculum aliquod adducatur.

Quamobrem, illustrissime princeps, illustrissimam tuam dominationem reverenter saluto, eique simpliciter valedico, gratias immortales pro omnibus suis beneficiis erga me agens, ego enim, ubicunque ero gentium, illustrissimæ dominationis tuæ nunquam non ero memor, futurus semper sincerus et gratus pro tua et tuorum felicitate precator.

Porro, quod ait reverendissimus dominus Legatus reverendum patrem vicarium abiisse insalutato hospite; quid hoc ad illustrissimam dominationem tuam? Vicarius non erat vocatus, nihil ad eum causa ista pertinebat, poterat ire, redire, abire, venire, omni hora ut voluit. An etiam portas Augustæ ingredientibus et egredientibus propter me claudi oportebat? Sed timeo, quod undicunque corrodatur et quæratur causa contra me; necesse est enim quæri causam ab eo, qui vult habere causam, ubi nullam habet causam.

Sed jam ignoscat illustrissima dominatio tua

verbosissimis nugis meis. Ego adhuc gratia Dei gaudeo, et gratias ago, quòd Christus Dei Filius in tam sancta causa me pati dignum judicaverit. Qui conservet illustrissimam dominationem tuam in æternum. Amen.

XIX. Novemb. Wittembergæ, Anno M.D.XVIII.

Illustrissimæ Dominationis tuæ

precator indignus,

F. MARTINUS LUTHERUS

Augustinianus.

CENTUM GRAVAMINA:

AN EXTRACT,

WITH A

NOTICE OF THE PRINCIPAL TOPICS.

The "Centum Gravamina" contain an ample list of the abuses practised by ecclesiastics, accompanied by complaints couched in language frequently more violent than even that of Luther. The first article in this long series was the Indulgences; and the gross impositions practised by the quæstors, or superintendants of this fraudulent traffic, are strongly animadverted on. These men had no scruple in forcing the purchase of Indulgences by holding the terror of divine punishment before the imaginations of their credulous hearers. The sums drawn from various quarters of Germany had been such, as to be productive of very sensible impoverishment. Absolution from any crime was promised, on payment of a prescribed fee. The tyrannical practice of forcing an appeal to Rome, in ecclesiastical as well as civil causes, is exposed

in this remonstrance to merited reprobation. This notable expedient had been introduced and maintained for the double purpose of feeding the church dependents, and of consolidating the sway of the papal court. The manner of conducting processes before the ecclesiastical courts was no less reprehensible than the motives for bringing them there. The princes complained likewise, in strong language, of the venal manner of granting marriage licences; of the improper issue of excommunications, and of the overbearing conduct of the papal commissaries in Germany. Ecclesiastics were not subject to prosecution or punishment in the same way as their humbler brethren among the laity. The right of patronage was frequently violated, and monasteries were arbitrarily exempted by the papal commissaries from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The collection of the tribute called "Annates" was persisted in, though the sums raised were not applied to the ostensible object—hostility to the Turks. Among other superstitious abuses, the "Centum Gravamina" enumerated the consecration of churches and church-yards, and that almost incredible absurdity, the baptizing of bells, all accompanied, as well as the interment of the dead, with heavy fees. All classes of ecclesiastics, monks, parish priests, abbots, abbesses, and even the papal legates, were charged with fattening on the spoils of the credulous people. Under an administration of justice decidedly partial to ecclesiastics, it was vain to hope for redress by an appeal to law. And so glaring was the traffick in church appointments,

that benefices were sold by the mistresses of ecclesiastical dignitaries and by courtezans.

The following may serve as a specimen of this remarkable memorial.

CENTUM GRAVAMINA, quæ adversus sedem Romanam ac totum ecclesiasticum ordinem, oratori pontificiæ sanctitatis, in comitiis Germanorum principum, Norembergæ, Anno, &c. XXII. inchoatis, finitis verò XXIII. proposuerunt.

Postquam relatio per oratorem sanctitatis Pontificiæ comitiis prædictis coram majestatis Cæsareæ locumtenente, electoribus, cæterisque principibus, ac imperii statibus, ibidem congregatis, habita, ac breve (quod vocant apostolicum) ejusdem Romani Pon. in consultationem forent deducta, desuperque responsio consulta et conclusa ac eidem oratori et legato pontificio, in scriptis, nomine totius Romani imperii tradita, factaque esset, forte inter alia, mentio, non infrequens, gravaminum atque onerum Romani imperii procerum, quibus iniquius quam par sit, ab Romanæ ecclesiæ clero premerentur, placuit principibus ac cæteris imperii ordinibus, hæc ipsa quæ contra ecclesiæ Romanæ primores, se in medium adducturos polliciti erant, gravamina paulo altius a principibus, sigillatim per classes, et quam potuit maximum per ordinem digesta, repetere, recensereque, ac ita descripta fusius legato Romano, ferenda secum trans Alpes, dare, rogareque hunc,

ut apud sedem apostolicam curare velit, quatenus onera hæc non ferenda Germanis, e medio tollere, emendareque sanctitas sua non dedignetur. Quemadmodum prædicta hæc in responsione supra memorata, omnia latius continentur. Itaque per compendium, ut sequitur, Germanicæ nationis onera hæc justò graviora, digesta, ac oratori pontificio, qui se nomine sanctissimi Romani præsulis, ita sincerè ac Christianè obtulerat, tradita sunt, quo sæpe dictus orator ac legatus Pontificius, hæc inde sanctitati legatis referre, ac apud eundem pro Germanis principibus et proceribus, totius imperii Romani ordinibus, interpellare possit.

Sunt autem gravamina supra memorata, quæ per capita nunc sequuntur.

Gravamina sedis Apostolicæ, non ferenda Germanis, ac primùm de dispensationibus ære redemptis.

I. Inter reliqua onera, vel illud minimè postremo loco est collocandum, quòd constitutionibus humanis multa prohibentur, imperantur item multa, quòd nullo divino præcepto, vel interdicta sunt, vel imperata. Sunt matrimoniorum tam innumera excogitata obstacula, ex affinitatis, publicæ honestatis cognatione, spirituali, legalique, et consanguinitatis tam multis gradibus originem trahentia. Ciborum item usus interdictus, quos Deus tamen ad hominis necessitatem creavit, ac cum gratiarum actione promiscuè sumendos Apostolus docuit.

Hæc nimirum atque his similes complures humanæ constitutiones, eosque ligant homines, donec pecunia sibi harum legum gratiam a statuentibus impetrent, ut ita pecunia faciat divitibus licitum, quod tenuibus gratis sit prohibitum. Illicitisque his legum ac constitutionum humanarum retiaculis, non modo magna numerorum copia a Germanis expiscata, e Germania et trans Alpes lata, sed et maxima inter æquè Christianos orta iniquitas, plura offendicula, simultates, dum tenues hisce laqueis vident se allaqueari, non, ob aliud, nisi quòd spinas evangelicas (ita enim Christus divitias non semel appellat) non possideant.

De tempore interdicto.

II. Pari modo agitur etiam cum celebrandis nuptiarum solennibus, a dominica septuagesima, qua cantatur in ecclesia, " circumdederunt me," &c. sub quadragesimæ usque initium, quo tempore ab ecclesiæ Romanæ primoribus undique nuptias celebrari interdictum est. Quum tamen interim et ab ecclesiasticis et a secularibus passim sine discrimine publicè, genialiter vivatur. Sed ita demum interdictum illud procedit, si gratis hoc facere quis intendat. Quod si nummi spes refulserit, jam quod primum erat prohibitum, impunè ac liberè facere licet. Est enim et hoc grave Germanorum ærumenis retiaculum, quo extrahuntur nummi. Nec minus interim gravamen quam pauperis divitisque longè diversa in relaxandis his constitutionibus sit conditio.

De oneribus papalium indulgentiarum.

Illud importabile jam olim increbuit Romanarum indulgentiarum onus, quando sub persona pietatis, quum aut basilicas Romanas construere, aut profectionem in Turcas parare polliciti sunt Romani Pontifices, omnem a simplicibus, nimiumque credulis Germanis exauxerunt pecuniarum medullam. Et quod longè majoris est faciendum per has imposturas, ac earum conductitios præcones et prædicatores, profligata est Germana Christianorum pietas, dum qui extrudere volebant venales suas bullas, laudes suis mercibus occinebant, miras et inauditas condonari, peremptitias has condonationes, nedum noxas præteritas, aut futuras viventium, sed et defunctorum vita existentium in purgatorio (quod vocant cantores illi, indulgentiarum) ignis, modo numeraretur aliquid, modo tinniat dextera. Atque his mercium nundinationibus simul et spoliata est ære Germania, et Christi pietas extincta, quando quilibet pro pretii, quod in has merces expenderat, modo, peccandi impunitatem sibi pollicebantur. Hinc stupra, incestus, adulteria, perjuria, homicidia, furta, rapinæ, fœnora, ac tota malorum lerna semel originem sibi traxerunt. Quod enim malorum amplius jam horrebunt mortales, quando sibi peccandi licentiam ac impunitatem, nedum in vita, sed et post obitum, ære, licet immodico, comparari posse a nundinationibus illis indulgentiariis, semel persuasum habentur maxime Germani, quibus per

hos veræ pietatis fucos, sub religionis persona, nihil non persuaderi difficile est? Ut ingenio planè ad pietatem credulo est Germania. Et licet indulgentiæ hæ non semel in hoc ad Germanos missæ sint, quasi ex corrasa earum venditione pecunia, fideles contra barbaros, essent tutandi ac defendendi. Eventu tamen compertum habent Germani pecuniam hanc, non in rem fidei, aut alioqui Reipublicæ Christianæ necessariam, sed in propinquorum luxum ac sublevandam familiam ipsorum esse versam, quo uno, bina hæc nata sunt perquam maxima incommoda, quòd et offendicula orta sunt simplicibus, et quòd nunc Germani toties sentientes lusam fidem quum verè jam res postulat, ut contra Turcas instituatur expeditio bellica, nullis rationibus persuaderi se patiuntur, ut credant, quod res ipsa ferè notorium facit. Ita. S. instare cervicibus nostris crudeles Turcas, suspicantes semper, prioribus simile quippiam agi. Quæ una ratio est, ut tam ægrè manus contra Turcas jungant. Quantorum erga malorum et in rebus temporalibus ac Christi fidelium conscientiis, causæ fuerint Romanæ indulgentiæ, sanctitas Apostolica, pro sublimitate captus sui, exigua opera, vel inde, si non ex re ulla alia, conjectura consequi poterit.

Præterea Papalis sanctitas, cæterique Episcopi, ac ecclesiæ Romanæ columnæ, casus aliquot suæ tantum absolutioni reliquos fecerunt, quorum si unum aut alterum commiseris, jam aut numerandum, aut absolutione tibi carendum est nempè quod in hoc reservati sint ut vel inde nummorum

aliquid eis accrescat. Quod ex eo conjicere licet, quod in casibus etiam quantumvis pro tempore honestis aut necessariis, nunquid tum nisi numeretur aliquid dispensant. At si nihil attuleris, numeraverisve, indispensatus perpetuo maneas. oportet.

EXTRACTS FROM THE

AUGSBURG CONFESSION,

WITH A

SUMMARY OF ITS CONTENTS.

This memorable document was originally composed in German, but translated afterwards into Latin. The first edition published at Wittemberg has been generally referred to by Protestant writers, as correct and authentic. Though composed by Melancthon, the doctrines contained in it had, with the exception of a few verbal differences, been submitted, a considerable time before, to the leading men among the reformed. It deserves to be noticed that the authority of the council of Nice is mentioned in this confession with respect. Of all the œcumenical councils convened by the church of Rome, none has obtained more general attention than the council of Nice. Its records were well authenticated, and they corresponded with the tenets of the party which acquired ascendency in the Romish church. The discussions at this early assemblage of the Christian clergy were directed chiefly to the controversies concerning the unity of

the Godhead. The writings of Saint Augustine discover, as is well known, a zealous attachment to the Athanasian creed. It was a natural consequence of Luther's admiration of these writings, and of the general support of the Reformation by the Augustinian fraternity, that many of the tenets of the founder of the Order should be incorporated into the Protestant system. In general it may be remarked, that the Reformers were not at first aware of the strength of their cause, nor of the firm basis on which they might have taken their ground. While animadversions of this description are not inapplicable to the Augsburg Confession, the liberal and conciliatory spirit which it breathes, is deserving of high commendation. Of this the following extract contains a striking specimen:

Hæc summa est doctrinæ quæ in ecclesiis nostris traditur. Et consentaneam esse judicamus et propheticæ ac apostolicæ scripturæ, et Catholicæ ecclesiæ; postremo etiam Romanæ ecclesiæ, quatenus ex probatis scriptoribus nota est. Atque idem judicaturos esse speramus omnes bonos et doctos viros. Non enim aspernamur consensum Catholicæ ecclesiæ, nec est animus nobis ullum novum dogma et ignotum sanctæ ecclesiæ, invehere in ecclesiam. Nec patrocinari impiis aut seditiosis opinionibus volumus, quas Catholica ecclesia damnavit. Non enim adducti prava cupiditate, sed coacti auctoritate verbi Dei et veteris ecclesiæ, amplexi sumus hanc doctrinam, ut gloria Dei fieret illustrior, et consuleretur piis mentibus in universa ecclesia. Constat enim plerosque abusus irrepsisse in

ecclesiam, qui emendatione opus haberent. Et cum propter gloriam Christi, tum propter salutem omnium gentium maximè optamus, ut diligenter cognitis his controversiis, ecclesia repurgetur, et ab iis abusibus liberetur, qui dissimulari non possunt, quam ob causam diu jam omnes boni viri in omnibus nationibus expetunt Synodum, cujus quidem spem aliquam clementiss. Imperator. omnibus gentibus ostendit. Faciet igitur Imperator rem dignissimam sua magnitudine et felicitate, et exoptatam universæ ecclesiæ, si in Synodo permiserit, judicium de tantis rebus, non illis qui privatos affectus in consilium adhibent, sed delectis piis et doctis viris, qui gloriæ Christi, et saluti universæ ecclesiæ consulere cupiant. Hæc est usitata et legitima via in ecclesia, dirimendi dissensiones, videlicet ad Synodos referre controversias ecclesiasticas.

Hunc morem servavit ecclesia, inde usque ab Apostolis. Et præstantissimi imperatores, Constantinus ac Theodosius, etiam in rebus non valde obscuris, et dogmatibus absurdis, tamen sine Synodo, nihil constituere voluerunt, ut ecclesiæ libertatem in judiciis dogmatum conservarent. Et honestissimum est Cæsari illorum optimorum principum exemplum imitari, præsertim cum nos nihil mutaverimus, sine exemplo veteris ecclesiæ. Et speramus hanc tantam felicitatem Imperatori divinitus datam esse, ad ecclesiæ emendationem ac salutem. Certe hanc gratiam Deus ab ipso reposcit, ut potentiam suam conferat ad ornandam Christi gloriam, ad ecclesiæ pacem, ad prohibendam immanem et injustissimam crudelitatem, quæ

mira quadam rabie passim exercetur in membra Christi, in homines pios et innocentes. Harum maximarum rerum curam mandavit Deus summis principibus. Ideo excitat monarchas ut injusta imperia prohibeant, quemadmodum excitavit Cyrum, ut liberaret a captivitate populum Judæorum; Constantinum, ut illam infinitam sævitiam, quæ tunc in Christianos exercebatur, depelleret. Ita optamus ut Cæsar, et curam emendandæ ecclesiæ suscipiat, et injustam crudelitatem prohibeat. Nam articuli nostri, quos recensuimus, satis clare testantur, nos nullum dogma contra Catholicam ecclesiam, nullam impiam aut seditiosam opinionem docere aut probare. Imo quosdam insignes articulos Christianæ doctrinæ a nostris piè et utiliter illustratos esse. In externis traditionibus abusus quidam mutati sunt, quarum etiam si qua est dissimilitudo, si tamen doctrina et fides pura sit, nemo propter illam traditionum humanarum dissimilitudinem habendus est hæreticus, aut desertor Catholicæ ecclesiæ. Nam unitas Catholicæ ecclesiæ consistit in doctrinæ et fidei consensu, non in traditionibus humanis, quarum semper in ecclesiis per totum orbem magna fuit dissimilitudo. Nec vero fidem habeat Cæsarea majestas his, qui, ut odia contra nos inflamment, miras calumnias spargunt. Prædicant omnes ceremonias, omnes bonos mores in ecclesiis deleri a nobis. Hæc crimina aperte falsa sunt. Nos enim et ceremonias divinitus institutas, summa pietate conservamus, et ut earum reverentiam augeremus, tantum novos quosdam abusus sustulimus, qui contra scripturam, contra veteres canones, contra veteris ecclesiæ exempla, sine ulla certa auctoritate vitio

temporum recepti sunt. Ac magnâ ex parte veteres ritus diligenter apud nos servantur. Quare rogamus, ut Cæsarea majestas clementer audiat quid in externis ritibus servetur, quid qua de causa mutatum sit.

It is of some consequence to remark, that the system which is generally termed the Calvinistic, is very perspicuously explained in the Augsburg Confession, a document antecedent to the writings of the Genevese reformer. The fact was, that respecting the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, the tenets of Zwinglius, Luther, and Calvin, were nearly alike; and the doctrine known by the name of the last of these eminent men, belongs to him, not as its author, but as its ablest expositor. His "Institutions" contain by far the ablest defence of the system, and it is very questionable whether any material accession of strength has been gained to the cause by the writings of his followers. The Augsburg Confession clearly asserts the necessity of the influence of the Spirit, to produce conversion; while, at the same time, it expressly declares that the word of God is the only medium through which the operations of the Spirit of God are communicated. Those who entertain different notions are, without hesitation, pronounced fanaticks. The performance of good works is regarded in the Confession as a necessary consequence of becoming a sincere Christian. In respect to the doctrine of repentance and the remission of sins, the Confession contains an exposition which fully shows the correspondence in these respects, of the ideas of Luther, Zwinglius, and

Calvin. It discusses the sacrament of baptism, and ventures to touch, but with a gentle hand, the disputed question of the Lord's supper. Here we may discover in the Confession a considerable leaning to the Romish doctrine, mixed apparently with a dread of carrying innovation too far. However the other five sacraments of the Catholics are decidedly pronounced to have no foundation in the word of God. It would be superfluous to enumerate the declarations relative to particular dogmas, such as the origin of evil, predestination, election, and other articles which enter into all the formulæ of protestant churches. The conclusion of the Confession is as follows:

Hi sunt præcipui articuli qui videntur habere controversiam, quanquam enim de pluribus abusibus dici poterat, tamen, ut fugeremus prolixitatem, præcipua complexi sumus, ex quibus cætera facile judicari possunt. Magnæ querelæ fuerunt de indulgentiis, de peregrinationibus, de abusu excommunicationis. Parochiæ multipliciter vexabantur per stationarios. Infinitæ contentiones erant pastoribus cum monachis, de jure parochiali, de confessionibus, de sepulturis, de extraordinariis concionibus, et de aliis innumerabilibus rebus. Hujusmodi negotia prætermisimus, ut illa quæ sunt in hac causa præcipua, breviter proposita, facilius cognosci possent. Neque hìc quicquam ad ullius contumeliam dictum aut collectum est. Tantùm ea recitata sunt, quæ videbantur necessariò dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit in doctrina ac ceremoniis, apud nos nihil esse receptum contra Scripturam, aut

ecclesiam Catholicam, quia manifestum est, nos diligentissimè cavisse, ne qua nova et impia dogmata in ecclesiis nostris serperent.

Hos articulos supra scriptos, voluimus exhibere juxta edictum C. M. in quibus confessio nostra extaret, et eorum qui apud nos docent doctrinæ summa cerneretur. Si quid in hac confessione desiderabitur parati sumus latiorem informationem, Deo volente, juxta scripturas exhibere.

Cæsareæ Majest. V.

Fideles et subditi,

Joannes, Dux Saxoniæ Elector.
Georgius, Marchio Brandenburgensis.
Ernestus, Dux Luneburgensis.
Phillippus, Landgravius Hessorum.
Johannes Fredericus, Dux Saxoniæ.
Franciscus, Dux Luneburgensis.
Volfgangus, Princeps ab Anhalt.
Senatus Magistratusque Nurembergensis.
Senatus Reutlingensis.

LUTHER'S PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME OF HIS WORKS,

PUBLISHED IN 1545.

MARTINUS LUTHERUS PIO LECTORI, S.

Multum diuque restiti illis, qui meos libros, seu verius confusiones mearum lucubrationum voluerunt editas, tum quod nolui antiquorum labores meis novitatibus obrui, et lectorem a legendis illis impediri, tum quod nunc, Dei gratia, extent methodici libri quam plurimi, inter quos loci communes Phillippi excellunt, quibus theologus et episcopus pulchre et abunde formari potest, ut sit potens in sermone doctrinæ pietatis, præsertim cum ipsa sacra biblia nunc in omni prope lingua haberi possint; mei autem libri, ut ferebat, imo cogebat, rerum gerendarum nullus ordo, ita etiam ipsi sint quoddam rude et indigestum chaos, quod nunc nec mihi ipsi sit facile digerere.

His rationibus adductus, cupiebam omnes libros meos perpetua oblivione sepultos, ut melioribus esset locus. Verum improbitas et importuna pertinacia

aliorum, qui mihi quotidie aures implebant, futurum esse, si ego vivus non permitterem edi, tamen post mortem meam essent certissime edituri ii, qui prorsus nescirent causas et tempora rerum gestarum, et ita ex una confusione fierent plurimæ. Vicit (inquam) eorum improbitas, ut edi permitterem. Accessit simul voluntas et imperium illustrissimi principis nostri Johannis Frederici electoris, &c. qui jussit, imo coegit typographos, non solum excudere, sed et maturare editionem.

Sed ante omnia oro pium lectorem, et oro propter ipsum dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut ista legat cum judicio, imo cum multa miseratione. Et sciat, me fuisse aliquando monachum, et papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam aggressus sum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus papæ, ut paratissimus fuerim, omnes, si potuissem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari et consentire, qui papæ vel una syllaba obedientiam detractarent. Tantus eram Saulus, ut sunt adhuc multi. Non eram ita glacies et frigus ipsum in defendendo papatu, sicut fuit Eccius et sui similes, qui mihi ferius propter suum ventrem papam defendere videbantur, quam quod serio rem agerent; imo ridere mihi papam adhuc hodie videntur, velut Epicuræi. Ego serio rem agebam, ut qui diem extremum horribiliter timui, et tamen salvus fieri ex intimis medullis cupiebam.

Ita invenies in istis meis Scriptis prioribus, quam multa et magna humilime concesserim papæ, quæ posterioribus et istis temporibus pro summa blasphemia et abominatione habeo et execror. Debis ergo hunc errorem, pie lector, vel (ut ipsi calum-

niantur) antilogiam, tempori et imperitiæ meæ. Solus primo eram, et certe ad tantas res tractandas ineptissimus et indoctissimus. Casu enim, non voluntate nec studio in has turbas incidi, Deum ipsum testor.

Igitur cum anno M.D.XVII. Indulgentiæ in his regionibus venderentur (promulgarentur volui dicere) turpissimo quæstu, ego tum eram concionator juvenis (ut dicitur) doctor theologiæ, et cæpi dissuadere populis, et eos dehortari, ne Indulgentiariorum clamoribus aurem præberent, habere eos meliora quæ facerent, et in iis certus mihi videbar, me habiturum patronum papam, cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis decretis clarissime damnat quæstorum (ita vocat Indulgentiarios prædicatores) immodestiam.

Mox scripsi epistolas duas, alteram ad Moguntinensem archiepiscopum Albertum, qui dimidium pecuniæ ex Indulgentiis habebat, (alterum dimidium papa, id quod tunc nesciebam,) alteram ad ordinarium (ut vocant) loci, episcopum Brandenburgensem Hieronimum; rogans ut compescerent quæstorum impudentiam et blasphemiam; sed pauperculus frater condemnabatur. Ego contemptus edidi disputationis schedulam simul et Germanicam concionem de Indulgentiis, paulo post etiam resolutiones, in quibus pro honore papæ hoc agebam, ut Indulgentiæ non damnarentur quidem, sed bona opera charitatis illis præferrentur.

Hoc erat cœlum deturbasse, et mundum incendio consumpsisse. Accusor apud papam, mittitur citatio mei ad *Urbem*, et consurgit totus papatus in me unicum. Hæc aguntur M.D.XVIII. sub co-

mitiis Maximiliani Augustæ celebratis, in quibus agebat legatum a latere pontificis cardinalis Cajetanus, quem dux illustrissimus Saxoniæ Fredericus elector princeps, causa mea adiit, et impetravit, ne Romam cogerer ire, sed ipse, me vocato, rem cognosceret, et componeret—mox soluta sunt comitia.

Interim quia fessi erant Germani omnes ferendis expilationibus, nundinationibus, et infinitis impostoris Romanensium nebulonum, suspensis animis expectabant eventum tantæ rei, quam nullus antea neque episcopus, neque theologus ausus esset attingere. Et fovebat me utcunque aura ista popularis, quod invisæ jam essent omnibus artes et Romanationes illæ, quibus totum orbem impleverant et fatigaverant.

Veni igitur pedester et pauper Augustam, stipatus sumptibus et literis principis Frederici ad Senatum et quosdam bonos viros commendatitiis. Triduo eram ibi, antequam accederem cardinalem; prohibebant enim viri illi optimi, et dissuadebant summis viribus, ne citra salvum conductum Cæsaris, cardinalem adirem. Licet ille me singulis diebus per quendam oratorem vocaret; erat hic mihi satis molestus, ut tantum revocarem, tum essent omnia salva, sed longa est injuria, longæ ambages.

Tandem tertio die venit expostulans, "Cur non accederem cardinalem, qui benignissime me expectaret?" Respondi mihi obtemperandum esse consiliis optimorum virorum, quibus essem a principe Frederico commendatus; esse autem eorum consilium, ne ullo modo, absque tutela Cæsaris, seu fide publica, cardinalem accederem, qua impetrata (agebant autem illi apud senatum Cæsareum, ut

impetrarent) mox essem accessurus. Hic commotus ille, " Quid? (inquit) putas principem Fredericum propter te arma sumpturum?" Dixi: " Hoc nollem prorsus." " Et ubi manebis?" Respondi: " Sub cœlo." Tum ille: " Si tu papam et cardinales in potestate tua haberes, quid esses facturus?" " Omnem," inquam, " reverentiam et honorem exhibiturus." Tum ille, gestu Italico movens digitum, dixit; " Hem!" Et sic abiit, neque reversus est.

Eo die, denunciavit senatus Cæsareus cardinali mihi esse datam Cæsaris tutelam, seu fidem publicam, admonens, ne quid asperius in me designaret. Hic fertur respondisse: " Bene est, ego tamen faciam, quod mei officii fuerit." Hæc fuere principia istius turbæ; cætera, ex actis infra cognosci potuerunt.

Eodem anno jam M. Philippus Melancthon a principe Frederico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas literas Græcas, haud dubie, ut haberem socium laboris in theologia; nam quid operatus sit Dominus per hoc organum, non in literis tantum, sed in theologia, satis testantur ejus opera, etiamsi irascatur Satan et omnes squamæ ejus.

Anno sequente XIX. decessit in Februario Maximilianus, et factus est jure imperii vicarius dux Fredericus; tum desiit paululum sævire tempestas, et sensim obrepsit contemptus excommunicationis seu fulminis papistici. Nam cum Eccius et Carraciolus ex *Urbe* attulissent bullam damnatricem Lutheri, eamque insinuassent, ille hic, iste illic, duci Friderico, qui Coloniæ tum erat, Carolum recens electum cum aliis principibus suscepturus, indig-

nissimè tulit et magna fortitudine et constantia objurgabat pontificium illum nebulonem, quod se absente perturbassent ipse et Eccius ditiones fratris Johannis et suam, et exagitabat eos magnifice, ita ut cum rubore et dedecore ab eo discederent: intellexit princeps ingenio incredibili præditus; artes Romanæ curiæ, et eos dignè tractare novit, erat enim emunctissimæ naris, et plus et longius olfaciebat, quam Romanenses aut sperare aut timere poterant.

Itaque deinceps ab eo tentando abstinebant, nam et Rosam quam vocant auream, eodem anno, ei a Leone X. missam, nullo honore dignatus est, imo pro ridiculo habuit; ita desperare coacti sunt Romanistæ a studiis fallendi tanti principis. Et procedebat feliciter evangelium sub umbra istius principis, et late propagabatur, movebat ejus auctoritas plurimos, qui cum esset sapientissimus, et occulatissimus princeps, non poterat, nisi apud invidos suspicionem incurrere, quod hæresin aut hæreticos vellet alere et tueri, quæ res papatui magnum intulit detrimentum.

Eodem anno habita est disputatio Lipsiæ, ad quam Eccius nos duos, Carlstadium et me provocavit, sed ego nullis literis potui impetrare fidem a duce Georgio, ita ut non disputator, sed spectator futurus, sub fide Carlstadio data, Lipsiam ingrederer. Quis autem me impediret, ignoro, nam adhuc erat dux Georgius mihi non iniquus, quod sciebam certè.

Hic Eccius me accessit in hospitio dicens, sese audisse me detrectare disputationem; respondi, " Quomodo disputare potero, cum nequeam impetrare fidem a duce Georgio?" Ille, " Si tecum,"

inquit, " non licet disputare, neque cum Carlstadio volo, propter te enim huc veni. Quid si ego tibi fidem impetravero? Nunquid disputabis mecum?" " Impetra" (inquam) " et fiat." Abiit ille, et mox data est mihi quoque fides publica, et facta copia disputandi.

Faciebat hoc Eccius, quia certam sibi gloriam propositam cernebat, propter propositionem meam, in qua negabam, papam esse *jure divino* caput ecclesiæ. Hìc patuit ei campus magnus, et occasio summa plausibiliter adulandi, et gratiam pontificis emerendi, tum odio et invidia me obruendi; quod strenue fecit per totam disputationem. Nec tamen sua firmavit, nec mea confutavit, ita ut ipse dux Georgius inter prandendum ad Eccium et me diceret: " Sive sit jure humano sive divino, papa ipse est papa;" quod verbum, nisi argumentis fuisset motus, nequaquam dixisset; sed Eccium solum probasset.

Atque hìc vide, vel in meo casu, quam difficile sit eluctari et emergere ex erroribus, totius orbis exemplo firmatis, et longa consuetudine, velut in naturam mutatis. Quam verum est proverbium, " difficile est consueta relinquère," et " consuetudo est altera natura," et quam vere dicit Augustinus; " consuetudo, si ei non resistitur, fit necessitas." Ego, qui jam tunc sacras literas diligentissimè privatim et publice legeram et docueram, per septem annos, ita ut memoriter pene omnia tenerem, deinde primitias cognitionis et fidei Christi hauseram, scilicet, non operibus, sed fide Christi nos justos et salvos fieri, denique id, de quo loquor papam non esse jure divino caput ecclesiæ, jam defendebam

publicè, tamen id quod consequens erat, non vidi, scilicet, papam necessariò esse ex diábolo; quod enim ex Deo non est, necesse est ex diabolo esse.

Sic absorptus eram (ut dixi) tum exemplo et titulo sanctæ ecclesiæ, tum consuetudine propria, ut papæ concederem jus humanum, quod tamen, si non sit fultum actoritate divina, mendacium et diabolicum est. Nam parentibus et magistratibus paremus, non quia ipsi præcipiunt, sed quia sic est voluntas Dei, Pet. 1. ii. Hinc est, quod minus iniquo animo ferre possum eos, qui pertinacius in papatu hærent, præsertim qui sacra vel etiam prophana non legerunt, cum ego tot annis sacra legens diligentissimè, tamen ita hæsi tenaciter.

Anno M.D.XIX. misit rosam Leo X. (ut dixi) per Carolum Miltitium, qui multis egit mecum, ut papæ reconciliarer. Is habuit 70 Brevia Apostolica, ut si princeps Fredericus illi me traderet, sicuti papa per rosam quærebat, per singula oppida affigeret unum, et ita tutus me perduceret Romam. Prodebat autem coram me consilium cordis sui, dicens, "O Martine, ego credebam te esse senem aliquem theologum, qui post fornacem sedens, ita secum disputasset; nunc videò te esse adhuc integrum ætate et validum. Si haberem 25 millia armatorum, non confiderem te posse a me Romam perduci; exploravi enim per totum iter animos hominum, quid de te sèntirent; ecce, ubi unum pro papa stare inveni, tres pro te contra papam stabant." Illud vero ridiculum erat; exploraverat etiam mulierculas et virgines in hospitiis, quidnam de sede Romana sentirent? Illæ, ut ignaræ hujus vocabuli, et sellam domesticam cogitantes, respon-

debant: "Quid nos scire possumus, quales vos Romæ habeatis sellas ligneas, ne an lapideas?"

Rogabat itaque ut consulerem ea, quæ pacis essent, se omnem daturum operam, ut papa idem faceret; ego prolixe quoque promisi omnia, quæ ullo modo salva conscientia veritatis possem, promptissime essem facturus, me quoque esse pacis cupidum et studiosum, qui per vim tractus in has turbas necessitate adactus fecissem omnia, quæ feci; culpam non esse meam.

Vocaverat autem ad se Johannem Tetzelium, prædicatorii ordinis, auctorem primarium hujus tragediæ, et verbis minisque pontificiis ita fregit hominem, hactenus terribilem cunctis, et imperterritum clamatorem ut inde contabesceret, et tandem ægritudine animi conficeretur; quem ego, ubi hoc rescivi, ante obitum literis benigniter scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi animo bono esse, nec mei memoriam metueret; sed conscientia et indignatione papæ forte occubuit.

Futilis habebatur Carolus (Miltitius) et futile ejus consilium; sed, meo judicio, si Moguntinus a principio, cum a me admoneretur, denique si papa, antequam me non auditum damnaret et bullis suis sæviret, hoc cepissent consilium, quod Carolus cepit, licet sero, et statim compescuissent Tetzelianum furorem, non evasisset res in tantum tumultum. Sola culpa est Moguntini, cujus sapientia et astutia eum fefellit, qua voluit meam doctrinam compescere, et suam pecuniam per indulgentias quæsitam, esse salvam. Nunc frustra quæruntur consilia, frustra coguntur studia. Dominus evigilavit, et stat ad judicandum populos; etiam si nos occidere

possent non tamen haberent quod volunt, imò minus haberent, quam nobis vivis et salvis habent. Id quod nonnulli inter eos, qui non omnino obesæ naris sunt, satis olfaciunt.

Interim eo anno jam redieram ad Psalterium denuo interpretandum, fretus eo, quo exercitatior essem, postquam S. Pauli epistolas ad Romanos ad Galatas, et eam, quæ est ad Ebræos, tractassem in scholis, miro certè ardore captus fueram cognoscendi Pauli in epistola ad Romanos. Sed obstiterat hactenus, non frigidus circum præcordia sanguis, sed unicum vocabulum, quod est Cap. i. "Justitia Dei revelatur in illo." Oderam enim vocabulum istud, "Justitia Dei," quod usu et consuetudine omnium doctorum, doctus eram philosophicè intelligere, de justitia (ut vocant) formali seu activa, qua Deus est justus, et peccatores injustosque punit.

Ego autem, qui me utcunque irreprehensibilis monachus vivebam, sentirem coram Deo esse peccatorem inquietissimæ conscientiæ, nec mea satisfactione placatum confidere possem, non amabam, imo odiebam justum et punientem peccatores Deum, tacitaque si non blasphemia, certe ingenti murmuratione indignabar Deo, dicens: Quasi vero non satis sit, miseros pecatores et æternaliter perditos peccato originali, omni genere calamitatis oppressos esse per legem decalogi, nisi Deus per evangelium dolorem dolori adderet, et etiam per evangelium nobis justitiam et iram suam intentaret. Furebam ita sæva et perturbata conscientia, pulsabam tamen importunus eo loco Paulum, ardentissimè sitiens scire, quid S. Paulus vellet.

Donec, miserente Deo, meditabundus dies et noctes connexionem verborum attenderem, nempe, justitia Dei revelatur in illo, sicut scriptum est: "Justus ex fide vivet." Ibi justitiam Dei cæpi intelligere eam, qua justus dono Dei vivit, nempe ex fide, et esse hanc sententiam, revelari per evangelium justitiam Dei, scilicet passivam qua nos Deus misericors justificat per fidem, sicut scriptum est: "Justus ex fide vivet." Hic me prorsus renatum esse sensi, et apertis portis in ipsam Paradisum intrasse. Ibi continuo alia mihi facies totius Scripturæ apparuit. Discurrebam deinde per Scripturas, ut habebat memoria, et colligebam etiam in aliis vocabulis analogiam, ut opus Dei, id est, quod operatur in nobis Deus, virtus Dei, qua nos potentes facit, sapientia Dei, qua nos sapientes facit, fortitudo Dei, salus Dei, gloria Dei.

Jam quanto odio vocabulum, "justitia Dei," oderam antè, tanto amore dulcissimum mihi vocabulum extollebam; ita mihi iste locus Pauli fuit, verè porta Paradisi. Postea legebam Augustinum de spiritu et litera, ubi præter spem offendi, quòd et ipse justitiam Dei similiter interpretatur, qua nos Deus induit, dum nos justificat. Et quanquam imperfectè hoc adhuc sit dictum, ac de imputatione non clarè omnia explicet, placuit tamen, justitiam Dei doceri, qua nos justificemur.

Istis cogitationibus armatior factus, cœpi Psalterium secundò interpretari, et processisset opus in magnum commentarium, nisi denuò per comitia Caroli V. imperatoris Vuormaciam sequenti anno vocatus, opus cœptum deserere fuissem coactus.

Hæc ideò narro, optime lector, ut si lecturus es

opuscula mea, memor sis, me unum fuisse (ut supra dixi) ex illis, qui (ut Augustinus de se scribit) scribendo et docendo profecerint; non ex illis, qui de nihilo repentè fiunt summi, cum nihil sint, neque operati neque tentati, neque experti, sed ad unum intuitum Scripturæ totum spiritum ejus exhauriunt.

Hactenus ad annum M.D.XX. et XXI. processit res Indulgentiariæ; post sequuntur res sacramentariæ et Anabaptisticæ, de quibus in aliis tomis, si vixero, præfandum est.

Vale, lector, in Domino, et ora pro incremento verbi, adversus Satanam, quia potens et malus est, nunc etiam furentissimus et sævissimus sciens quoniam breve tempus habet, et regnum sui papæ periclitatur. Confirmet autem Deus hoc in nobis, quod operatus est, et perficiat opus suum, quod incepit in nobis, ad gloriam suam. Amen.

V. Martii, Anno M.D.XLV.

MELANCTHON'S PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME OF LUTHER'S WORKS,

PUBLISHED AT WITTEMBERG

IN 1546.

PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON PIO LECTORI S. D.

Spem nobis fecerat reverendus vir Martinus Lutherus, et curriculum se vitæ suæ, et certaminum occasiones in præfatione hujus partis suorum monumentorum narraturum esse. Quod fecisset, nisi priusquam officinæ typographicæ hoc volumen absolverunt, autor ex hac mortali vita ad æternam Dei et ecclesiæ cœlestis consuetudinem evocatus esset. Utilis autem esset et privatæ ipsius vitæ consideratio luculenter scripta—plena enim fuit exemplorum, quæ ad confirmandam pietatem in bonis mentibus profutura essent, et occasionum recitatio, quæ posteritatem de multis rebus commonefacere posset. Deinde et calumnias refutaret eorum, qui vel incitatum a principibus viris aut aliis, ut labefactaret episcoporum dignitatem; vel privata ipsum cupiditate inflammatum servitutis monasticæ vincula rupisse fingunt.

Hæc prodesset ab ipso integre et copiose exposita et commemorata esse. Et si enim malevoli vulgare illud objecturi erant αὐτος ἀὐτου αυλα, tamen et in ipso tantum gravitatis fuisse scimus, ut optima fide historiam recitaturus fuerit. Et multi boni et sapientes viri adhuc vivunt, quibuscum sciret seriem harum rerum notam esse, fuisset ridiculum, aliam historiam, ut fit interdum in poematibus, comminisci. Sed quia editionem hujus voluminis fatalis ipsius dies antevertit, nos iisdem de rebus ea, quæ partim ex ipso audivimus, partim ipsi vidimus, bona fide recitaturi sumus.

Vetus familia est, et late propagata mediocrium hominum, cognomine *Luther*, in ditione inclytiore comitum Mansfeldensium. Parentes vero Martini Lutheri primùm in oppido *Isleben*, ubi Martinus Lutherus natus est, domicilium habuerunt. Deinde migrarunt in oppidum *Mansfelt*, ubi Pater Joannes Lutherus et magistratus gessit, et propter integritatem omnibus bonis viris carissimus fuit.

In matre *Margarita*, conjuge Joannis Lutheri, cum cæteræ erant virtutes honestæ matronæ convenientes, tum vero præcipuè lucebant pudicitia, timor Dei, et invocatio, intuebanturque in eam cæteræ honestæ mulieres, ut in exemplar virtutum. Hæc mihi aliquoties interroganti de tempore, quo filius natus est, respondit, diem et horam se certò meminisse, sed de anno dubitare. Adfirmabat autem natum esse die decimo Novembris, nocte post horam undecimam, ac nomen *Martini* attributum infanti quia dies proximus, quo infans per baptismum ecclesiæ Dei insertus est, *Martino* dicatus fuisset. Sed frater ejus Jacobus, vir honestus et

integer, opinionem familiæ de ætate fratris hanc fuisse dicebat, natum esse anno a natali Christi 1483.

Postquam ætas doctrinæ capax fuit, parentes filium *Martinum* ad agnitionem et timorem Dei et ad aliarum virtutum officia, domestica institutione, diligenter adsuefecerunt; et ut est consuetudo honestorum hominum, curaverunt, ut literas disceret; gestavitque in ludum literarium adhuc parvulum *Georgii Æmylii* pater, qui cum adhuc vivat, testis hujus narrationis esse potest.

Florebant autem eo tempore scholæ grammaticæ in Saxonicis urbibus mediocriter, quare cum *Martinus* ingressus esset annum quartumdecimum, una cum *Joanne Reineck*, cujus postea virtus fuit excellens, et virtute parta autoritas in his regionibus magna, Magdeburgam missus est, fuitque mutua benevolentia inter hos duos, *Lutherum* et *Reineckum*, semper eximia, seu ab aliquo naturæ consensu, seu ab illa puerilium studiorum societate orta. Nec tamen diutius anno mansit Lutherus Magdeburgæ. Deinde in schola Isennacensi quadriennio audivit præceptorem rectius et dexterius tradentem grammaticen, quam alibi tradebatur; nam hujus ingenium memini a *Luthero* laudari. In cum autem urbem missus est qua mater in iis locis honesta et veteri familia nata fuerat. Hic absolvit grammaticum studium. Cumque et vis ingenii acerrima esset, et imprimis ad eloquentiam idonea, celeriter æqualibus suis præcurrit, et verbis et copia sermonis in loquendo, et in scribenda soluta oratione, et in versibus, cæteros adolescentes, qui una discebant, facilè vicit.

Degustata igitur literarum dulcedine, natura flagrans cupiditate discendi appetit academiam, tanquam fontem omnium doctrinarum. Et omnes artes ordine percipere tanta vis ingenii potuisset, si, doctores idoneos invenisset, et fortassis ad leniendam vehementiam naturæ mitiora studia veræ philosophiæ, et cura formandæ orationis profuissent. Sed incidit Erfordiæ, in ejus ætatis dialecticen satis spinosam, quam cùm sagacitate ingenii præceptionum causas et fontes melius quam cæteri, perspiceret, citò arripuit. Cùmque mens avida doctrinæ, plura et meliora requireret, legit ipse pleraque veterum Latinorum Scriptorum monumenta, Ciceronis, Virgilii, Livii, et aliorum. Hæc legebat non ut pueri verba tantùm excerpentes, sed ut humanæ vitæ doctrinam, aut imagines. Quare et consilia horum scriptorum et sententias propius aspiciebat, et ut erat memoria fideli et firma, pleraque ei lecta et audita in conspectu et ob oculos erant. Sic igitur in juventute eminebat, ut totæ academiæ *Lutheri* ingenium admirationi esset.

Ornatus igitur gradu magisterii philosophici, cum natus esset annum vicesimum, de consilio propinquorum, qui hanc tantam vim ingenii, et facundiam judicabant in lucem et ad rempublicam educendum esse, inchoat juris studium. Sed brevi post, cum natus esset annum unum et vicesimum, subito præter parentum et propinquorum opinionem, venit ad collegium monachorum Augustinianorum Erphordiæ, seque recipi petit. Receptus, jam non solum acerrimo studio doctrinam ecclesiæ discit, sed etiam summa disciplinæ severitate se ipse regit et omnibus exercitiis lectionum, disputationum, jeju-

niorum, precum, omnes longe superat. Erat autem natura, quod sæpe miratus sum, in corpore nec parvo, nec imbecilli, valde modici cibi et potus; vidi continuis quatuor diebus, cum quidem recte valeret, prorsus nihil edentem aut bibentem, vidi sæpe alias multis diebus quotidie exiguo pane et halece contentum esse.

Occasio autem fuit ingrediendi illud vitæ genus, quod pietati et studiis doctrinæ de Deo existimavit esse convenientius, hæc fuit, ut ipse narrabat, et ut multi norunt. Sæpe eum cogitantem attentius de ira Dei, aut de mirandis pœnarum exemplis subitò tanti terrores concutiebant, ut pene exanimaretur. Ac vidi ipse, cum in quadam doctrinæ disputatione propter intentionem consternatus, in vicino cubiculo se in lectum collocavit, ubi hanc sententiam crebrò repetitam miscuit invocationibus: "Conclusit omnes sub peccatum, ut omnium misereatur." Hos terrores seu primum, seu acerrimos sensit eo anno, cum sodalem, nescio quo casu interfectum, amisisset.

Non igitur paupertas, sed studium pietatis eum in illud vitæ monasticæ genus induxit, in quo etsi doctrinam in scholis usitatam quotidiè discebat, et sententiarios legebat, et in disputationibus publicis labyrinthos aliis inextricabiles, diserte multis admirantibus explicabat; tamen quia in eo vitæ genere non famam ingenii, sed alimenta pietatis quærebat, hæc studia tanquam *parerga* tractabat, et facile arripiebat illas scholasticas methodos. Interea fontes doctrinæ cœlestis avidè legebat ipse, scilicet scripta prophetica et apostolica, ut mentem suam de Dei voluntate erudiret, et firmis testi-

moniis aleret timorem et fidem. Hoc studium ut magis expeteret illis suis doloribus et pavoribus movebatur.

Et senis cujusdam sermonibus in Augustiniano collegio Erphordiæ sæpe se confirmatum esse narrabat, cui cum consternationes suas exponeret, audivit eum de fide multa disserentem, seque deductum aiebat ad symbolum, in quo dicitur: "Credo remissionem peccatorum." Hunc articulum sic ille interpretatus erat, non solum in genere credendum esse, aliquibus remitti, ut et dæmones credunt, Davidi aut Petro remitti, sed mandatum Dei esse, ut singuli homines nobis remitti peccata credamus. Et hanc interpretationem confirmatam dicebat Bernardi dictó, monstratumque locum in concione de annunciatione, ubi hæc sunt verba, "Sed adde, ut credas et hæc quæ per ipsum peccata tibi condonantur. Hoc est testimonium, quod perhibet Spiritus Sanctus in corde tuo dicens: *Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua.* Sic enim arbitratur apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem." Hac se voce non solum confirmatum esse Lutherus dicebat, sed commonefactum etiam de tota Pauli sententia, qui toties inculcat hoc dictum, *fide justificamur.* De quo cum multorum expositiones legisset, tunc et ex hujus sermonibus et suæ mentis consolatione animadvertisset interpretationum quæ tunc in manibus erant vanitatem. Paulatim legenti et conferenti dicta et exempla in prophetis et apostolis recitata, et in quotidiana invocatione excitanti fidem, plus lucis accessit.

Tunc et Augustini libros legere cœpit, ubi et in Psalmorum enarratione, et in libro de spiritu et

litera, multas perspicuas sententias reperit, quæ confirmabant hanc de fide doctrinam, et consolationem animadvertisse interpretationum quæ in ipsius pectore accensa erat. Nec tamen prorsus relinquit sententiarios. Gabrielem et Cammeracensem pene ad verbum memoriter recitare poterat. Diu multumque legit scripta Occam, cujus acumen anteferebat Thomæ et Scoto. Diligenter et Gersonem legerat, sed omnia Augustini monumenta et sæpe legerat, et optimè meminerat.

Hoc acerrimum studium inchoavit Erphordiæ, in cujus urbis collegio Augustiniano commoratus est annos quatuor.

Eo autem tempore, quia reverendus vir Staupicius, qui exórdia academiæ Wittebergensis adjuverat, studium theologicum in recenti academia excitare cupiebat, cum ingenium et eruditionem Lutheri considerasset, traducit eum Wittebergam anno 1508, cum jam ageret annum vicesimum sextum. Hìc inter quotidiana exercitia scholæ et concionum, magis etiam lucere ejus ingenium cœpit, cumque eum attentè audirent viri sapientes, doctor Martinus Mellerstadius et alii. Sæpe dixit Mellerstadius tantam esse vim ingenii in hoc viro, ut plane præsagiret mutaturum esse vulgare doctrinæ genus quod tunc in scholis unicum tradebatur.

Hìc primùm dialecticen et physicen Aristotelis enarravit, interea tamen suum illud studium legendi scripta theologica non omittens. Post triennium Romam profectus, propter monachorum controversias, cum eodem anno reversus esset, usitato more scholarum, duce Saxoniæ electore Friderico præbente sumptus, ornatus est gradu doctorum, ut

usitate loquimur. Audierat enim concionantem, et vim ingenii et nervos orationis ac rerum bonitatem expositarum in concionibus, admiratus fuerat. Et ut quadam quasi maturitate judicii videas gradum ei doctori attributum esse, scias fuisse eum annum ætatis Lutheri tricesimum. Ipse narrabat sibi admodum defugienti et recusanti, mandatum esse a Staupicio, ut hoc gradu ornari se sineret, eumque per jocum dixisse, multum negotiorum Deo jam in ecclesia fore, ad quæ ipsius usurus esset opera. Cui voci etsi joco tunc emissa est, tamen eventus respondit, ut multa præcedunt mutationes præsagia.

Postea enarrare epistolam ad Romanis cœpit, deinde Psalmos. Hæc scripta sic illustravit, ut post longam et obscuram noctem, nova doctrinæ lux oriri videretur, omnium priorum et prudentum judicio. Hic monstravit legis et evangelii discrimen; hic refutavit errorem, qui tunc in scholis et concionibus regnabat, qui docet, mereri homines remissionem peccatorum propriis operibus, et homines coram Deo justos esse disciplina, ut Pharisæi docuerunt. Revocavit igitur Lutherus hominum mentes ad Filium Dei, et ut Baptista, monstravit agnum Dei, qui tulit peccata nostra; ostendit gratis propter Filium Dei remitti peccata, et quidem oportere id beneficium fide accipi. Illustravit et cæteras partes doctrinæ ecclesiasticæ.

Hæc ei exordia rerum optimarum magnam autoritatem circumdederunt, præsertim cum mores congruerint cum oratione docentis, videreturque oratio non in labris nasci, sed in pectore. Hæc vitæ admiratio magnas efficit inclinationes in animis auditorum, ut veteres etiam dixerunt σχεδον, ὡς

εἰπεῖν, κυριω τα την ἐχει πιςιν τὸ ἦθος. Quare postea cum quosdam receptas ritus mutaret, honesti viri, qui eum norant, minus vehementer adversati sunt eique propter autoritatem, quam et rerum bonarum illustratione et sanctitate morum antea pepererat in iis sententiis adsenserunt, quibus magno cum dolore videbant orbem terrarum distrahi.

Nec Lutherus tunc in ritibus quidquam mutabat imo tetricus disciplinæ custos inter suos erat, nec miscuerat aliquid opinionum horridiorum. Sed illam communem et prorsus necessariam doctrinam omnibus magis magisque illustrabat, de pœnitentia, de remissione peccatorum, de fide, de veris consolationibus in cruce. Hujus doctrinæ dulcedine pii omnes valde capiebantur, et eruditis gratum erat, quasi ex tenebris, carcere, squalore educi Christum, prophetas, apostolos, conspici discrimen legis et evangelii promissionum legis, et promissionis evangelicæ, philosophiæ, et evangelii, quod certe non extabat in Thoma, Scoto, et similibus, justitiæ spiritualis et rerum politicarum. Accedebat huc, quod Erasmi scriptis jam invitata erant juventutis studia ad Latinæ et Græcæ linguæ cognitionem; quare monstrato jam dulciore genere doctrinæ, multi bonis et liberis ingeniis præditi abhorrere a barbarica et sophistica doctrina monachorum incipiebant.

Ipse etiam Lutherus Græcæ et Ebraicæ linguæ studiis se dedere cœpit, ut cognita sermonis proprietate et phrasi, et hausta ex fontibus doctrina, dexterius judicare posset.

In hoc cursu cum esset Lutherus, circumferuntur venales Indulgentiæ in his regionibus a Tecelio Dominicano impudentissimo sycophanta, cujus

impiis et nefariis concionibus irritatus Lutherus, studio pietatis ardens, edidit propositiones de Indulgentiis quæ in primo tomo monumentorum ipsius extant. Et has publicè templo, quod arci Wittebergensi contiguum est, affixit pridie festi omnium sanctorum, anno 1517. Hic Tecelius nihil sui dissimilis, ac sperans etiam gratiam se apud Romanum pontificem initurum esse, suum senatum convocat, monachos aliquot et theologos sophistica sua utcunque leviter tinctos, hos componere aliquid jubet adversus Lutherum. Ipse interea ne esset κωφου προσωπου non jam conciones, sed fulmina in Lutherum torquet, vociferatur ubique hunc hæreticum igni perdendum esse, propositiones etiam Lutheri et concionem de Indulgentiis publicè conjicit in flammas. Hi furores Tecelii et ejus satellitum imponunt necessitatem Luthero de rebus iisdem copiosius differendi, et tuendæ veritatis.

Hæc initia fuerunt hujus controversiæ, in qua Lutherus nihil adhuc suspicans et aut somnians de futura mutatione rituum, ne quidem ipsas Indulgentias prorsus abjiciebat, sed tantùm moderationem flagitabat. Quare falso eum calumniantur, quia plausibili causa exorsum dicunt, ut postea mutaret rempublicam, et vel sibi vel aliis potentiam quæreret. Ac tantum abest, ut ab aulicis subornatus aut incitatus sit, sicut scripsit dux Brunsvuicensis, ut doluerit etiam dux Fridericus moveri certamina, longe prospiciens, quamque exordium esset de re plausibili, tamen paulatim latius vagaturam esse hanc flammam, ut de lite apud Homerum dicitur: "Parva metu primo, mox sesse attollit in auras."

Cumque unus omnium nostræ ætatis principum

Fridericus et tranquillitatis publicæ amantissimus fuerit, et minime πλεονεκτικος, maximeque solitus sit referre consilia ad communem salutem orbis terrarum, ut ex multis rebus intelligi potest, nec incitator Lutheri, nec adplausor fuit, suumque dolorem sæpe significavit, quem assidue circumtulit metuens discordias majores. Sed vir sapiens et non tantum prophana judicia sequens quæ tenera initia omnium mutationum celerrime opprimi jubent, sed etiam normam divinam in consilium adhibens, quæ jubet audiri evangelium et vetat agnitæ veritati adversari ac blasphemiam vocat horribiliter damnatam a Deo, pertinaciam veritati adversantem fecit quod multi alii pii et sapientes fecerunt, Deo cessit studiose legit ea quæ scribebantur, et ea quæ judicavit veræ esse, delere non voluit.

Scio etiam sæpe eum sciscitatum de rebus ipsis eruditorum et sapientum sententias, et in eo conventu, quam in urbe Agrippina Coloniæ egit Imp. Carolus V. post coronationem, Erasmum Rotterodamum amanter orasse, ut libere diceret, num errare Lutherum in iis controversiis judicaret, de quibus præcipue disseruisset. Ibi Erasmus plane dixit, recte sentire Luthêrum sed lenitatem se in eo desiderare. Qua de re gravissime postea dux Fridericus ad Lutherum scribens, valde eum hortatus est, ut styli asperitatem moderaretur.

Constat etiam Lutherum cardinali Cajetano promissurum fuisse silentium, si adversariis etiam silentium indiceretur. Qua ex re perspicuè intelligi potest, tunc quidem nondum eum decrevisse, alia se deinceps moturum esse certamina, sed tranquillitatis cupidum fuisse; sed paulatim ad alias materias per-

tractum esse, undique lacessentibus eum indoctis scriptoribus.

Secutæ sunt igitur disputationes de discrimine legum divinarum et humanarum, de tetra prophanatione cœnæ Domini, in venditione et adplicatione ejus pro aliis. Hìc explicanda tota sacrificii ratio fuit, et ostendendus usus sacramentorum. Cumque jam audirent homines pii in monasteriis, fugienda esse idola, discedere ex impia servitute ceperunt.

Addidit igitur Lutherus ad explicationem doctrinæ de pœnitentia, de remissione peccatorum, de fide, de Indulgentiis, deinde et has materias, discrimen legum divinarum et humanarum, et doctrinæ de usu cœnæ Domini, et aliorum sacramentorum, et de votis. Et hæc fuerunt præcipua certamina. Quæstionem de Romani Episcopi potestate Eccius movit, non aliam ob causam, nisi ut accenderet Pontificis et regum odia adversus eum.

Symbola vera apostolicum, Nicenum et Athanasianum purissime retinuit. Deinde in ritibus et traditionibus humanis quid et cur mutandum sit, satis copiose in multis scriptis exponit. Et quid retineri voluerit, et quam formam doctrinæ et administrationis sacramentorum probaverit, liquet ex confessione, quam dux Saxoniæ elector Joannes, et princeps Philippus landgravius Cattorum, &c. in conventu Augustano imp. Carolo V. anno 1530, exhibuerunt. Liquet idem ex ipsis ecclesiæ ritibus in hac urbe, et ex doctrina, quam sonat ecclesia nostra, cujus summa in confessione perspicuè comprehensa est. Quod ideo recito, ut non solum considerent pii, quos errores taxaverit, quæ idola sus-

tulerit Lutherus, sed etiam sciant complexum esse universam doctrinam ecclesiæ necessariam, et puritatem in ritibus restituisse, et piis exempla instaurandarum ecclesiarum monstrasse. Ac utile est, posteritatem scire, quid probaverit Lutherus.

Illud commemorare hoc loco nolo, qui primi publice præbuerint utramque partem cœnæ Domini, qui primi omiserint privatas missas, ubi deserta primùm sint monasteria. Nam Lutherus de his materiis ante conventum, qui fuit in urbe Vangionum anno 1521, tantum pauca disputaverat. Ritus non mutavit ipse, sed, eo absente, Carolostadius, et alii ritùs mutarunt. Cumque quædam tumultuosius fecisset Carolostadius, rediens Lutherus, quid probaret aut non probaret, editis suæ sententiæ perspicuis testimoniis, declaravit.

Scimus politicos viros vehementer detestari omnes mutationes, et fatendum est, discordiis etiam propter justissimas causas motis in hac tristi confusione vitæ humanæ semper aliquid mali misceri. Sed tamen in ecclesia necesse est anteferri mandatum Dei omnibus rebus humanis. Æternus Pater hanc vocem de Filio edidit: "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, hunc audite." Et minitatur æternam iram blasphemis, hoc est, iis, qui agnitam veritatem delere conantur. Quare pium et necessarium fuit Luthero, præsertim cum ecclesiæ Dei doceret, taxare perniciosos errores, quos homines Epicurei, etiam nova impudentia cumulabant, et auditores recte docenti assentiri necesse fuit. Si vero mutatio odiosa est, si in discordia multa sunt incommoda, ut esse multa magno cum dolore cernimus, culpa est tum illorum, qui initio errores sparserunt, tum horum, qui nunc eos diabolico odio tuentur.

Hæc non modo eo commemoro, ut Lutherum et ejus auditores defendam, sed etiam, ut piæ mentes hoc tempore et ad posteritatem cogitent, qualis sit et semper fuerit veræ ecclesiæ Dei gubernatio, quomodo Deus sibi voce evangelii æternam ecclesiam ex hac massa peccati, hoc est, ex magna hominum colluvie excerpat, inter quos lucet evangelium, ut scintilla in tenebris. Ut Pharisæorum tempore tamen Zacharias, Elisabet, Maria, et alii multi veræ doctrinæ custodes fuerunt; ita etiam ante hæc tempora multi fuerunt, recte invocantes Deum, alii magis, alii minus perspicue tenentes evangelii doctrinam. Talis fuit et ille senex, de quo dixi, qui Lutherum conflictantem pavoribus sæpe erexit, eique aliquo modo monstrator fuit doctrinæ de fide. Ita, ut servet Deus deinceps in multis lucem evangelii, ardentibus votis precemur, sicut Esaias pro suis auditoribus precatur; " Obsigna legem in discipulis meis." Deinde hæc commemoratio ostendit fucatas superstitiones non esse durabiles, sed evelli divinitus. Hæc cum sit causa mutationum, cavendum est, ne errores in ecclesia doceantur.

Sed redeo ad Lutherum, ut initio sine privata cupiditate, in hanc causam ingressus est, ita etsi fuit ardens et iracunda, tamen semper sui muneris memor, tantum docendo præliatus est, ac vetuit arma sumi, sapienterque distinxit officia toto genere diversa, episcopi docentis ecclesiam Dei, et magistratuum, qui gladio coercent certorum locorum multitudinem.

Quare cum aliquoties diabolus, qui scandalis dissipare ecclesiam et contumelia Deum adficere studet, et ut est ἐπιχαιρέκακος, vokiptatem capit ex hominum miserorum erroribus et exitio, inflam-

masset seditiosa ingenia ad excitandos tumultus, ut monetarium et similes, acerrime illos furores damnavit, et dignitatem ac vincula omnia politici ordinis non solum ornavit; sed etiam munivit. Cum autem apud me cogito, quàm multi magni viri in ecclesia sæpe in hac re hallucinati sint, plane statuo, non sola humana diligentia, sed etiam divina luce pectus ejus gubernatum esse, ut intra sui muneris metas tam constanter manserit.

Execrabatur igitur non solum hujus ætas seditiosos doctores, monetarium et anabaptistas, sed etiam eos episcopos urbis Romæ, qui audacissimè impudentissimèque decretis conditis adfirmarunt, Petro non tantum evangelii docendi munus mandatum esse, sed etiam imperia politica tradita esse.

Denique erat hortator omnibus, ut quæ Dei sunt Deo darent, quæ Cæsaris; Cæsari; id est, ut vera pœnitentia, veræ doctrinæ agnitione et propagatione, vera invocatione, et bonæ conscientiæ officiis Deum colerent, suæ vero politiæ quisque in omnibus civilibus officiis reverenter propter Deum obtemperaret. Ac talis quidem Lutherus ipse fuit; quæ Dei sunt, Deo dedit, recte docuit, Deum recte invocavit; habuit et alias virtutes necessarias in homine, qui placet Deo. Deinde in politica consuetudine constantissime vitavit omnia seditiosa consilia. Has virtutes tanta esse judico decora, ut alia majora in hac vita expeti non possint.

Et quanquam ipsius viri virtus etiam laude digna est, qui Dei donis reverenter usus est, tamen præcipue Deo gratias agi necesse est, qui per eum restituit nobis evangelii lucem, et ipsius doctrinæ memoria retinenda et propaganda est. Nec moveor

clamoribus Epicurcorum aut Hypocritarum, qui aut rident, aut damnant manifestam veritatem, sed vere statuo consensum perpetuum esse Catholicæ ecclesiæ Dei hanc ipsam doctrinæ vocem, quæ sonat in ecclesiis nostris, et hujus doctrinæ agnitione necessario regendam esse invocationem et vitam. Denique hanc ipsam esse doctrinam, de qua Filius Dei inquit: "Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et pater meus diliget eum et veniemus ad eum, et mansionem apud eum faciemus." Loquor enim de summa doctrinæ, ut in ecclesiis nostris a piis et eruditis intelligitur et explicatur. Nam etiamsi alii magis, alii minus proprie, et concinne interdum aliquid explicant, aut alius alio horridius interdum loquitur, tamen de rebus in summa inter pios et eruditos consensus est.

Ac mihi sæpe multumque cogitanti de omnium temporum doctrina, inde usque ab apostolis post primam puritatem secutæ videntur mutationes doctrinæ insignes quatuor. Origenica ætas, et si aliqui fuerunt recte sentientes, qualem fuisse methodium arbitror, qui deliramenta Origenis improbavit, tamen in animis multitudinis inflexit evangelium ad philosophiam; hoc est, offudit hanc persuasionem, mediocrem rationis disciplinam mereri remissionem peccatorum, et esse justitiam, de qua diceretur; "Justus ex fide sua vivet." Hæc ætas pene amisit totum discrimen legis et evangelii, et sermonem apostolicum dedidicit. Non enim retinuit nativam significationem vocabulorum, literæ, spiritus, justitiæ, fidei. Et amissa verborum proprietate, quæ rerum notæ sunt, alias confingi res necesse est. Ex his seminibus ortus est Pelagii error, qui late

vagatus est. Itaque cum apostoli puram doctrinam seu limpidos et saluberrimos fontes ecclesiæ dedissent, multum infudit cœni Origenis.

Hujus ætatis errores ut emendarentur, saltem aliqua ex parte, Augustinum Deus excitavit; hic mediocriter fontes repurgavit, nec dubito si hic judex esset controversiarum hujus ætatis, habituros nos eum prorsus ὁμόψηφον. Certe de remissione gratuita, de justitia fidei, de usu sacramentorum, de adiaphoris expresse nobiscum sentit. Etsi autem alibi magis, alibi minus diserte seu proprie exponit quod vult, tamen si lector candorem et dexteritatem in judicando ad eum adferret, sentire eum nobiscum agnoscet. Quod enim adversarii nostri interdum sententias ex eo decerptas, contra nos citant, et ad patres magno clamore provocant, id non faciunt veritatis et antiquitatis studio, sed, sycophantiæ præsentibus idolis, autoritatem veterum prætereunt, quibus hæc idola postremæ ætatis adhuc ignota erant.

Sed semina superstitionum tamen in illa patrum ætate exstitisse adparet. Ideo et de votis quædam constituit Augustinus, etsi de his quoque minus horride loquitur quam cæteri. Semper autem aliquid ineptiarum singulis etiam bonis aspergunt contagia suæ ætatis, quia ut patriæ, ita præsentibus ritibus favemus, quibus innutriti sumus, verissimumque illud est Euripidis, πᾶν σύνξοφον γλυκύ. Utinam vero omnes, qui Augustinum sequi se jactitant, perpetuam sententiam, et ut ita dicam, pectus Augustini referrent, non tantum mutila dicta calumniose detorquerent ad suas opiniones.

Ac restituta lux Augustini scriptis posteritati pro-

fuit; nam deinde Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, et aliqui similes, qui studia gubernarunt, usque ad Bernardi ætatem, propemodum Augustini normam sequuntur. Interea tamen crescentibus imperiis et opibus episcoporum, secuta est velut gigantum ætas; prophani homines et indocti regnarunt in Ecclesia, quorum aliqui aulæ Romanæ artibus aut forensi doctrina exculti fuerunt. Exorti sunt igitur Dominicani et Franciscani, qui cum viderent luxum et opes episcoporum, et prophanos mores detestarentur, modestiorem vitam instituerunt, seque quasi disciplinæ carceribus incluserunt. Sed primum inscitia superstitiones auxit, deinde cum viderent hominum studia in scholis ad solam forensem doctrinam converti, qua Romæ jam ibtes multis augerent autoritatem et opes, ipsi revocare homines ad theologica studia conati sunt, sed consilium defuit. Albertus et similes, qui dediti fuerunt Aristotelis doctrinæ, transformare ecclesiæ doctrinam in philosophiam cœperunt. Et hæc quarta ætas, non tantum cœnum, sed insuper venena, id est, opiniones probantes manifesta idola in fontes evangelicos infudit. Tantum labyrinthorum et falsarum opinionum est in Thoma, Scoto, et similibus, ut semper saniores Theologi desideraverint aliud genus doctrinæ planius et purius.

Nec sine insigni impudentia dici potest, non fuisse opus ejus doctrinæ mutatione, cum manifestum sit magnam partem sophismatum in illis disputationibus ne ab iis quidem intelligi, qui in eo doctrinæ genere consenuerunt. Deinde aperte confirmantur εἰδωλομανίαι, ubi docent applicationes sacrificii ex opere operato, ubi statuarum invocationes

excusant, ubi negant gratis remitti peccata fide, ubi ex ceremoniis humanis carnificinam faciunt conscientiarum, denique multa sunt alia magis tetra et δύσφημα, quæ cogitans toto corpore cohorresco.

Gratias igitur agamus Deo æterno, patri Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui Martini Lutheri ministerio ex fontibus evangelicis rursus ejici cœnum et venena voluit, et ecclesiæ puram doctrinam restituit, qua de re cogitantes omnes pios toto orbe terrarum conjungere vota et gemitus decet, ac petere ardentibus pectoribus, ut Deus confirmet hoc quod operatus est in nobis, propter templum sanctum suum. Tua est hæc vox et promissio, vere et vere Deus, æterne Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, conditor omnium rerum et ecclesiæ, "Propter nomen meum misereor vestri, propter me faciam, ut non blasphemer." Te oro toto pectore, ut propter gloriam tuam et Filii tui semper tibi inter nos quoque ecclesiam æternam voce Evangelii tui colligas, et propter Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum crucifixum pro nobis et resuscitatum, precamur nostra pectora Spiritu sancto regas, ut te vere invocemus, et officia tibi placentia præstemus. Rege etiam studia doctrinæ, et guberna ac serva has politias et earum disciplinam, quæ sunt hospitia tuæ ecclesiæ et studiorum. Cum ideo genus humanum condideris, ut ab hominibus agnoscaris et invoceris, quare et illustribus testimoniis te patefecisti non sinas deleri hæc agmina, in quibus doctrina tua sonat. Cumque Filius tuus Dominus noster Jesus Christus aditurus agonem suum precatus sit pro nobis; "Pater, sanctifica eos in veritate; sermo tuus est veritas." Ad hujus nostri sacerdotis

precationem, nostra vota adjungimus et petimus una cum ipso, ut tua doctrina semper luceat in genere humano, et nos gubernet. Hæc quotidie precantem et Lutherum audiebamus, et inter hæc vota anima ejus ex mortali corpore placide evocata est, cum jam ageret annum sexagesimum tertium.

Habet posteritas multa monumenta et doctrinæ et pietatis ipsius. Edidit scripta διδασκαλικα, in quibus doctrinam complexus est salutarem et necessariam hominibus, erudientem bonas mentes de pœnitentia, fide, et veris fructibus fidei, de usu sacramentorum, de discrimine legis et evangelii, de discrimine evangelii et philosophiæ, de dignitate politici ordinis, denique de præcipuis articulis doctrinæ, quam in ecclesia extare necesse est. Deinde addidit ἐλεγκτικα, in quibus refutavit multos errores perniciosos hominibus. Edidit et ἐξηγητικα, id est, enarrationes plurimas in prophetica et apostolica scripta, quo in genere etiam inimici fatentur eum superare omnium enarrationes quæ extant.

Hæc merita esse magna, omnes piæ mentes intelligunt. Sed profectò utilitate et labore æquat hæc opera, interpretatio veteris et novi Testamenti, in qua tanta est perspicuitas, ut vice commentarii esse possit ipsa Germanica lectio; quæ tamen non est nuda, sed habet adjunctas eruditissimas annotationes, et singularum partium argumenta, quæ et summam doctrinæ cœlestis monstrant, et de genere sermonis erudiunt lectorem, ut ex ipsis fontibus bonæ mentis firma testimonia doctrinæ sumere possint. Volebat enim Lutherus non detinere in suis scriptis, sed ad fontes deducere omnium mentes. Ipsam vocem Dei audire nos voluit, hac voluit in

multis accendi veram fidem et invocationem, ut Deus verè celebraretur, et multi fierint hæredes vitæ æternæ.

Hanc voluntatem et hos tantos labores et grata mente prædicare decet, et exempli causa meminisse, ut nos quoque pro suo quisque modo ornare ecclesiam studeat. Nam ad hos duos fines præcipuè tota vita, et omnia vitæ studia et consilia referenda sunt; primùm ut Dei gloriam illustremus; deinde, ut ecclesiæ prosimus. De quorum altero dicit Paulus, "Omnia ad gloriam Dei facite:" De altero Psalmus CXXII. "Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem." Et additur dulcissima promissio in eodem versu, "Eos, qui diligunt ecclesiam, felices et beatos fore." Hæc cœlestia mandata et hæ promissiones invitent omnes, ut ecclesiæ doctrinam rectè discant, ament ministros evangelii, et salutares doctores, et conferant studium et operam ad veræ doctrinæ propagationem, et ad veræ ecclesiæ concordiam tuendam. Bene vale Lector, Witteberge, Calendis Junii.

Anno M.D.XLVI.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CHARACTER OF LUTHER,

BY CAMERARIUS,

IN HIS LIFE OF MELANCTHON.

ERAT Martini Luteri ingenium acre et sagax, erat animus ingens et excelsus. Nunquam enim in timiditate et socordia, vel etiam fortitudine et solertia mediocri, ea, quæ agit, susciperentur. Excellentes autem homines sicubi incurrunt, non fieri id sine quasi fragore quodam potest. Sane lubricum esse hoc loco veluti iter expositionis video. Nam apud quosdam Martini Luteri nomen adeo odiosum est, ut auditum execrentur; contra nonnulli in illius dictis aut factis aliquid argui omnino pati nequeant, et si quis hoc facere audeat, eum statim impietatis reum declamitando peragunt. Ego, quæ comperi et vera esse scio ea commemoranda duxi, neque invidiam veritus neque gratiam aucupatus. Qui quidem Martini Luteri auctoritatem et nomen ita celebrant, ut supra conditionem et modum generis humani non dubitent extollere, iis videndum,

ne præstantissimi atque summi viri bonam existimationem tribuendo nimium diminuere, et suæ audaciæ ab illa excellentia præsidium quærere videantur. At isti insectatores, qui non modo omnia scripta illius damnant ut impia et turbulenta, sed nomen etiam auditum tanquam ominis mali detestantur, nunc etiam si quid cordis haberent, poterant reminiscendo considerare, quid acerbitate odii et contumacia pervicaciaque adversandi et clamoribus vesanis effectum sit. Quorum enim vulnera sanandi causa attrectantur, eos clamando et obnitendo sibi ipsis nocere constat. Possitque his narrari Æsopica apud Aristophanem fabula :

> Æsopus a cœna redibat vesperi,
> Hunc allatrabat improba et petulans canis.
> At ille ad hanc conversus, O Canis,
> Hac si repressa, ait, lingua tua mala,
> Panes coemeres, cor tibi esse crederem.

Et isti, si quanta inopia laborarent eorum, quibus religiosam pietatem abundare necesse est, revocarent ad animum suum, sique eis curæ esset, ut sibi ac aliis ea copia pararetur, quam requirit vitæ salutisque conservatio, saperent profecto et rebus communibus ac privatis consulerent rectius. Sed (incidit enim ætas nostra in fatalis cujusdam conversionis quasi articulum, cum neque admonitiones quicquam proficiant, et querelis inanibus dolor tantum augeatur) orationem nostram ab instituta narratione recedentem non sinemus excurrere longius. Et de his rebus silentes, una cum cæteris eventus et ipsos fatales, ut mulierculæ apud Æschylum se facturas aiunt, perferemus. Martinus Lu-

terus, quo tempore diximus, mortem obiit, præsente infractoque animo et constante in sanctitate religiosæ pietatis, reliquitque et suis et alienis desiderium sui ingens; quamvis ætate gravi decessisset (nam annum omnino LXIII. vivendo eum confecisse compertum putatur), qui lugentes et ita tunc exequias funeris conhonestandas curaverunt, ut his memoria nominis ipsius quam studiosissime et officiosissime celebraretur, et magnitudinem doloris sui gemitibus et lacrimis testati sunt. In quibus Philippi Melanchthonis studia atque officia eximiæ caritatis facile eminuerunt.

BULLA LEONIS X. 1520.

The following extract from this celebrated document contains the Preamble, and the substance of the Charges against Luther:

Leo Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Exsurge Domine, et judica causam tuam; memor esto *improperiorum* tuorum, eorum quæ ab insipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt vulpes quærentes demolire vineam, cujus tu torcular calcâsti solus, et ascensurus ad Patrem, ejus curam, regimen et administrationem Petro tanquam Capiti, et tuo Vicario, ejusque successoribus, instar triumphantis ecclesiæ, commisisti, exterminare nititur—eam aper de silva, et singularis ferus depascitur eam.

Exsurge Petre, et pro pastorali cura præfata (ut præfertur, tibi divinitus demandata, intende in causam sanctæ Rom. ecclesiæ matris omnium ecclesiarum, ac fidei magistræ, quam tu, jubente Deo, tuo sanguine consecrâsti. Contra quam, sicut tu prædmonere dignatus es, insurgunt magistri mendaces, introducentes sectas perditionis sibi celerem interitum superducentes, quorum lingua ignis est, inquietum malum plena veneno mortifero, qui

zelum amarum habentes, et contentiones in cordibus suis gloriantur, et mendaces sunt adversus veritatem.

Exsurge tu quoque, quæsumus, Paule, qui eâm tua doctrina, ac pari martyrio illuminâsti atque illustrâsti. Jam enim surgit novus Porphyrius, qui sicut ille olim sanctos Apostolos injuste momordit, ita hic sanctos Pontifices prædecessores nostros, contra tuam doctrinam eos non obsecrando, sed increpando mordere, lacerare, ac ubi causæ suæ diffidit ad convicia accedere non veretur, more hæreticorum, quorum (ut inquit Hieronymus) ultimum præsidium est, ut cum conspiciant causas suas damnatum iri, incipiant virus serpentis lingua diffundere, et cum se victos conspiciant ad contumelias prosilire. Nam licet hæreses esse ad exercitationem fidelium, tu dixeris oportere, eas tamen ne incrementum accipiant, neve vulpeculæ coalescant, in ipso ortu, te intercedente et adjuvante, extingui necesse est.

Exsurgat denique omni sanctorum ac reliqua universalis ecclesia, cujus vera sacrarum literarum interpretatione posthabita, quidam quorum mentem pater mendacii excœcavit, ex veteri hæreticorum instituto, apud semetipsos sapientes, scripturas easdem aliter quam Spiritus Sanctus flagitet, proprio duntaxat sensu, ambitionis, auræque popularis causa (teste Apostolo) interpretantur, imo verò torquent, et adulterant, ita ut, juxta Hieronymum, jam non sit Evangelium Christi, sed hominis, aut quod pejus est, diaboli. Exsurgat, inquam, præfata sancta ecclesia Dei, et unà cum beatissimis apostolis præfatis apud Deum omnipotentem intercedat, ut

purgatis ovium suarum erroribus, eliminatisque a fidelium finibus hæresibus, universis ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ pacem et unitatem conservare dignetur.

Dudum siquidem, quod præ animi angustia et mœrore exprimere vix possumus, fide dignorum relatu, ac fama publica referente, ad nostrum pervenit auditum, imo vero, proh dolor, oculis nostris vidimus, ac legimus, multos ac varios errores, quosdam videlicet jam per concilia, ac prædecessorum nostrorum constitutiones damnatos, hæresim etiam Græcorum et Bohemicam expresse continentes, alios vero respectivè vel hæreticos, vel falsos, vel scandalosos, vel piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium seductivos, a falsis fidei cultoribus, qui per superbam curiositatem, mundi gloriam cupientes, contra apostoli doctrinam, plus sapere volunt quam oporteat, quorum garrulitas (ut inquit Hieronymus) sine Scripturarum auctoritate non habere fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam, etiam divinis testimoniis, male tamen interpretatis, roborare. A quorum oculis Dei timor recessit, humani generis hoste suggerente, noviter suscitatos, te nuepr apud quosdam leviores in inclyta natione Germanica seminatos. Quod eo magis dolemus ibi evenisse, quod, eandem nationem et nos et prædecessores nostri in visceribus semper gesserimus charitatis; nam post translatum ex Græcis a Rom. ecclesia in eosdem Germanos Imperium, iidem prædecessores nostri et nos, ejusdem ecclesia advocatos defensoresque ex eis semper accepimus. Quos quidem Germanos, catholicæ veritatis vere Germanos, constat hæresium acerrimos oppugnatores semper fuisse. Cujus rei testes sunt laudabiles illæ constitutiones

Germanorum Imperatorum, pro libertate ecclesiæ, proque expellendis exterminandisque ex omni Germania hæreticis sub gravissimis pœnis, etiam amissionis terrarum et dominorum, contra receptatores, vel non expellentes, olim editæ et a nostris prædecessoribus confirmatæ, quæ si hodie servarentur, et nos et ipsi utique hac molestia careremus. Testis est in Concilio Constantiensi Hussitarum ac Vinclevistarum, nec non Hieronymi Pragensis damnata ac punita perfidia. Testis est toties contra Bohemos Germanorum sanguis effusus. Testis denique est prædictorum errorum, seu multorum ex eis, per Coloniensem et Lovaniensem Universitates, utpote agri Dominici piissimas, religiosissimasque cultrices, non minus docta quam vera ac sancta confutatio, reprobatio, et damnatio; multa quoque alia allegare possemus, quæ, ne historiam texere videamur, præmittenda censuimus.

Pro pastoralis igitur officii divina gratia nobis injuncti cura, quam gerimus, prædictorum errorum virus pestiferum ulterius tolerare, seu dissimulare, sine Christianæ religionis nota, atque orthodoxæ fidei injuria nullo modo possumus. Eorum autem errorum aliquos præsentibus duximus inserendos, quorum tenor sequitur et est talis. 1. Hæretica sententia est, sed usitata, "Sacramenta novæ legis justificantem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem." 2. In puero post baptismum negare remanens peccatum, est Paulum et Christum simul conculcare. 3. Fomes peccati etiam si nullum adsit actuale pecatum, moratur exeuntem a corpore animam ab ingressu cœli. 4. Imperfecte charitas morituri fert secum necessario magnum timorem,

qui se solo satis est facere pœnam purgatorii, et impedit introitum regni. 5. Tres esse partes pœnitentiæ, contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem, non est fundatum in Scriptura, nec in antiquis sanctis, Christianis doctoribus. 6. Contritio quæ paratur per discussionem, collectionem, et detestationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos suos in amaritudine animæ suæ, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, multitudinem, fœditatem, amissionem æternæ beatitudinis, ac æternæ damnationis acquisitionem, hæc contritio facit hypocritum, imo magis peccatorem. 7. Verissimum est proverbium, et omnium doctrina de contrititionibus hucusque data præstantius, de cætero non facere, summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia, nova vita. 8. Nullo modo præsumus confiteri peccata venalia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est, ut omnia mortalia cognoscas. Unde in primitiva ecclesia solum manifesta mortalia confitebantur. Callidè deceptum hoc, ut multa alia. 9. Dum volumus omnia pure confiteri, nihil aliud facimus, quam quod misericordia Dei nihil volumus relinquere ignoscendum. 10. Peccata non sunt ulli remissa, nisi remittente sacerdote credat sibi remitti, imo peccatum maneret, nisi remissum crederet; non enim sufficit remissio peccati, et gratiæ donatio, sed oportet etiam credere esse remissum. 11. Nullo modo confidas absolvi propter tuam contritionem, sed propter verbum Christi, "Quodcunque solveris, &c." Hic, inquam, confide, si sacerdotis obtinueris absolutionem, et crede fortiter te absolutum, et absolutus es, quidquid sit de contritione. 12. Si per impossibile confessus non esset contritus, aut sacer-

dos non serio, sed joco absolveret, si tamen credat se absolutum, verissime est absolutus. 13. In sacramento pœnitentiæ, ac remissione culpæ, non plus facit papa, episcopus, quam infimus sacerdos, imo ubi non est sacerdos, æque tantum quilibet Christianus, etiamsi mulier aut puer esset. 14. Nullus debet sacerdoti respondere, se esse contritum, nec sacerdos requirere. 15. Magnus est error eorum, qui ad sacramentum Eucharistiæ accedunt huic innixi, quia sint confessi, quod non sint sibi conscii alicujus peccati mortalis, quod præmiserint orationes suas et præparatoria, omnes illi ad judicium sibi manducant et bibunt. Sed si credant et confidant se gratiam ibi consecuturos, hæc sola fides facit eos puros et dignos. 16. Consultum videtur, quod ecclesia in communi concilio statueret, Laicos sub utraque specie communicandos, nec Bohemi communicantes sub utraque specie sunt hæretici, sed schismatici. 17. Thesauri ecclesiæ, unde papa dat Indulgentias, non sunt merita Christi et Sanctorum. 18. Indulgentiæ sunt piæ fraudes fidelium, et remissiones bonorum operum, et sunt de numero eorum quæ licent, et non de numero eorum quæ expediunt. Vah, qui destruis Servi servorum mercatum, illud singulare uberrimi lucri formamentum, ferte cito flammas. 19. Indulgentiæ iis qui veraciter eas consequuntur, non valent ad remissionem pœnæ pro peccatis actualibus debitæ apud divinam justitiam. 20. Seducuntur credentes, Indulgentias esse salutares, et ad fructum spiritus utiles. 21. Indulgentiæ necessariæ sunt solum publicis criminibus, et proprie concedunt duris solummodo et impatientibus. 22. Sex generibus hominum Indul-

gentiæ nec sunt necessariæ, nec utiles videlicet, mortuis seu morituris, infirmis, legitime impeditis, his qui non commiserunt crimina, his qui crimina commiserunt sed non publicâ, his qui meliora operantur. 23. Excommunicationes sunt tantum externæ pœnæ, nec privant hominem communibus spiritualibus ecclesiæ orationibus. 24. Docendi sunt Christiani plus diligere excommunicationem, quam timere. 25. Romanus pontifex Petri successor, non est Christi vicarius, super omnes totius mundi ecclesias ab ipso Christo in B. Petro institutus. 26. Verbum Christi, "Quodcunque solveris super terram, &c." extenditur duntaxat ad ligata ab ipso Petro. 27. Certum est, in manu ecclesiæ aut papæ prorsus non esse, statuere articulos fidei, imo nec leges morum, seu bonorum operum. Si papa cum magna parte ecclesiæ sic vel sic sentiret, nec etiam erraret, adhuc non est peccatum aut hæresis contrarium sentire præsertim in re non necessaria ad salutem, donec fuerit per concilium universale alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum. 29. Via nobis facta est enarrandi auctoritatem conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et judicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confidendi quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocunque concilio. 30. Aliqui articuli Johannis Huss condemnati in concilio Constan. sunt Christianissimi, verissimi, et evangelici, quos nec universalis ecclesia posset damnare. 31. In omni opere bono justus peccat. 32. Opus bonum, optime factum, est veniale peccatum. 33. Hæreticos comburi, est contra voluntatem spiritus. 34. Præliari adversus Turcas, est repugnare Deo visi-

tanti iniquitates nostras. 35. Nemo est certus se non semper peccare mortaliter propter occultissimum superbiæ vitium. 36. Liberum arbitrium post peccatum est res de solo titulo, et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter. 37. Purgatorium non potest probari ex sacra Scriptura, quæ sit in canone. 38. Animæ in purgatorio non sunt securæ de eorum salute, saltem omnes; nec probatum est ullis aut rationibus aut Scripturis, ipsas esse extra statum merendæ, aut augendæ charitatis. 39. Animæ in purgatorio peccant sine intermissione, quamdiu quærunt requiem, et horrent pœnas. 40. Animæ ex purgatorio liberatæ suffragiis viventium, minus beantur, quam si per se satisfecissent. 41. Prælati, ecclesiastici, et principes seculares non malefacerent, si omnes saccos mendicitatis delerent.

Qui quidem errores respective quam sint pestiferi, quam scandalosi, quam piarum et simplicium mentium seductivi, quam denique sint contra omnem charitatem ac S. Rom. ecclesiæ matris omnium fidelium et magistræ fidei reverentiam, atque nervum ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, obedientiam scilicet, quæ fons est et origo omnium virtutum sine qua facile unusquisque infidelis esse convincitur, nemo sanæ mentis ignorat.

Nos igitur in præmissis utpote gravissimis, propensius (ut decet) procedere, nec non hujusmodi pesti, morboque canceroso, ne in agro dominico tanquam vepres nociva, ulterius serpat, viam præcludere cupientes, habita super prædictis, erroribus, et eorum singulis diligenti trutinatione, discussione, ac districto examine, maturaque deliberatione, omnibusque rite pensatis, ac sæpius ventilatis cum vene-

rabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctæ Rom. ecclesiæ cardinalibus, ac regularium ordinum prioribus, seu ministris generalibus pluribusque aliis sacræ Theologiæ, nec non utriusque juris professoribus, sive magistris, et quidem peritissimis, reperimus eosdem errores respective (ut præfertur) aut articulos non esse catholicos nec tanquam tales esse dogmatizandos, sed contra catholicæ ecclesiæ doctrinam, sive traditionem, tanquam adeo veram divinarum Scripturarum receptam interpretationem, cujus auctoritati ita acquiescendum censuit Augustinus, ut dixerit, se evangelio non fuisse crediturum, nisi ecclesiæ catholicæ intervenisset auctoritas. Nam ex eisdem erroribus, vel eorum aliquo, vel aliquid palam sequitur, eandem ecclesiam quæ Spiritu Sancto regitur errare et semper errâsse. Quod est utique contra illud quod Christus discipulis suis in ascensione sua (ut in sancto evangelio Matth. legitur) promisit, dicens: "Ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi." Necnon contra sanctorum patrum determinationes consiliorum quoque et summorum pontificium expressas ordinationes seu canones, quibus non obtemperâsse, omnium hæresium et schismatum teste Cypriano, fomes et causa semper fuit.

De eorundem itaque venerabilium fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu, ac omnium et singulorum prædictorum matura deliberatione prædicta auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et nostra, præfatos et singulos articulos seu errores tanquam (ut præmittitur) respective hæreticos aut scandalosos, aut falsos, aut piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium

seductivos, et veritati catholicæ obviantes; damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, ac pro damnatis, reprobatis, et rejectis ab omnibus utriusque sexûs Christi fidelibus haberi debere, harum serie decernimus et declaramus. Inhibentes in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majores excommunicationes latæ sententiæ, nec non quo ad ecclesiasticas et regulares personas, episcopalium omnium, etiam patriarchalium, metropolitan. et aliarum cathedralium ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, quoque et prioratuum etiam conventualium, et quorumcunque dignitatum, aut beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, secularium, aut quorumvis ordinum regularium, privationis et inhabilitatis ad illa, et alia in posterum obtinenda.

Insuper, quia errores præfati et plures alii continentur in libellis seu scriptis cujusdam Martini Lutheri, dictos libellos, et omnia dicti Lutheri scripta, seu prædicationes, in Latino, vel quocunque alio idiomate reperiuntur, in quibus dicti errores, seu eorum aliquis continentur, similiter damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, et pro omnino damnatis, reprobatis, ac rejectis, (ut præfertur,) haberi voluimus. Mandantes in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub pœnis prædictis eo ipso incurrendis, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexûs Christi fidelibus superius nominatis, ne hujusmodi scripta, libellos, prædicationes seu schedulas, vel in eis contenta capitula, errores aut articulos supra dictos continentia, legere, asserere, prædicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, sive defendere, per se, vel alium, seu alios, directè vel indirectè, tacitè vel expressè, publicè vel occultè, aut in domibus suis, sive aliis,

publicis vel privatis locis tenere quoquo modo præsumant, quinimo illa statim post harum publicationem ubicunque fuerint, per ordinarios, et alios supradictos diligenter quæsita publice, et solenniter in præsentia cleri et populi, sub omnibus et singulis supradictis pœnis comburant.

LUTHER

ON

MONASTIC VOWS.

This treatise is deserving of attention in several respects. It contains a course of reasoning on a subject affecting the fundamental establishments of the Catholic church, and it comprehends topics on which Luther's sentiments had, in the course of years, undergone a total change. The dedication of this work to his father, the reason for which we shall see presently, is calculated to show that Luther, however irritable, had nothing vindictive in his disposition. We give the dedication in English, and subjoin several passages from the body of the book in the original language:

DEDICATION.

MARTIN LUTHER TO HIS FATHER JOHN LUTHER, GREETING,

DEAR FATHER,

It has for a considerable time been my intention to dedicate the present publication to you in the

most affectionate manner; not from a vain wish to give publicity to your name, but with a view to avail myself of the opportunity, which an address to you afforded, of explaining to pious readers the nature of my book.

You are well aware how deeply I have been impressed with the belief, that nothing could be more important or more sacred than to yield obedience to the impulse of the divine command. And here you may be disposed to ask, "Have you ever had doubts on such a subject, and is it but lately that you have learned the true state of the case?" It is so, I confess——Until lately I have not only entertained doubts, but have been grossly ignorant of the true state of the case." Let me add, with all due respect, that I believe I could prove, that, like myself, you were greatly deficient in this respect. It is now nearly sixteen years, since, without your knowledge, I ventured to make myself a monk. With the warmest parental affection, you felt alarmed on my account, because you knew beforehand the various privations and disadvantages of that mode of life. Your object was to connect me by marriage with a respectable and affluent family; and your anger at the course I had taken, was for some time exceedingly great. The words of the Psalmist, "God knoweth the thoughts of man that they are vain"—These words occurred to you, but without producing a full effect. At length you desisted and consented that your wishes should give way to what was the will of heaven. My fears, however, were not then terminated, for I well remember that when you conversed mildly with me, and heard my declaration

that I had become a monk not from partiality to the mode of life, but from the apprehension of divine wrath, your observation was "I wish that it may not prove a vain illusion." These words sounded in my ears as if they had proceeded from the voice of God.—At no subsequent period have I forgotten them; nor have any words, which I have ever heard, made so lasting an impression on me. Still I heard you only as a man, and persisted in adhering to what I regarded in the light of divine inspiration. Had it been in your power, you would certainly have prevented me from becoming a monk; but as to me, had I even known what I now know, I should have pursued the same course and have suffered death rather than have been stopped in it. Of the propriety of my conduct at that time, my opinion has certainly undergone a change; but God, by his infinite wisdom and mercy, has been pleased to produce great good out of evil. Would you not rather have lost one hundred sons than not have seen these happy effects arise? Satan seems to have anticipated in me, from my infancy, some of those qualities which have since appeared; and to prevent the progress of the cause in which they have been instrumental, he affected my mind to such a degree as to make me often wonder whether I was the only human creature whom he tormented.* Now, however, I perceive that God directed that I should acquire, by personal experience, a knowledge of the constitution of universities and monasteries, that

* Ut sæpius fuerim admiratus, egone solus essem inter mortales, quem peteret.

my opponents might have no handle to boast that I pretended to condemn things of which I was ignorant. It was ordained therefore that I should pass part of my life in a monastery.

Let me proceed to ask what is the nature of your present opinions and feelings? You are still my father; I am still your son; and vows, we are now satisfied, have ceased to be binding. The right of paternal authority was on your side when you opposed my change of life—in mine, there was a wish to obey the command of God—Had it depended on you, would you not ere this have taken me from the monastery? But lest you should imagine that God has only anticipated you by taking me himself from it, let me ask what if I should persist in wearing the monastic garb and tonsure? Are then the cowl and tonsure sufficient to constitute a monk?—My conscience is now freed—I am, and I am not a monk—a new creature, not of the pope, but of Christ. The monks created by the pope are the mere fictions of temporal authority.—Of that number I was one, but from that bondage I am now delivered by the grace of God. It may be asked why I do not ascribe my removal to the influence of your authority. God, who moved me to withdraw, has a more powerful claim on my acknowledgment. "He who loves his father or mother, more than me," (said our Saviour,) "is not worthy of me." By this Christ did not mean to set aside the authority of parents, but to express, by a familiar illustration, that when their orders came in competition with those of our Saviour, the latter ought always to be preferred. These things I recapitulate merely

to show that I could not obey you otherwise than at the hazard of my conscience. At that time neither of us knew from Scripture that the impulse of God was to be accounted superior to any human orders.—I now dedicate this book to you, that you may see how remarkably Christ hath enabled me to relinquish the profession of a monk, and hath given me so much liberty, that although I am become the servant of all, I am subject to him alone. He is to me, "bishop, abbot, prior, Lord, father, and master."—I know none but him—Let me, therefore, hope that he may have taken one son from you to make him instrumental in the salvation of many of his other sons. This, I am fully persuaded, you are prepared to receive not only willingly, but with great joy. Nor have you reason to do otherwise—What though the pope should be the cause of putting me to death? He cannot raise the dead, and make them suffer a second time. The day, I trust, is approaching, when that kingdom of abomination and perdition shall be destroyed. Would to God we were the first who were reckoned worthy to be burned or put to death by the pope, that our blood might be the means of accelerating his condemnation. But if we are not worthy to show our sincerity by our blood, let us at least pray and entreat that God may show us this mercy, that we be enabled to testify by our life and conduct that Jesus Christ alone is our Lord God blessed for ever. Amen.—Farewell, and salute my mother, your Margaret, with all those who are in Christ.

Ex Eremo, XXI. Novr. Anno MDXXI.

Having seen the manner in which Luther thinks fit to address his father, we are now to observe his language to other persons. The work is introduced by what he calls a protestation, or opinion concerning monastic vows.

"In the first place," he says, "I wish those who have discovered such inveterate hatred to me to be informed that I do not address the work to them. They would condemn on my account the plainest truths, because I am unwilling to "give what is holy to dogs, or to throw pearls before swine." My object is to serve those persons who are suffering under the tyranny of conscience and sin."

After mentioning the injury which Christianity had sustained from monastic vows, Luther proceeds to state that he does not mean to discuss the question whether a vow ought to be performed, but to inquire "what vows are real vows." He next enters on a long course of argument, of which it would be difficult to exhibit an analysis within moderate compass. This, like his other works, seems to have been composed in great haste, and the collateral illustrations are so numerous, that to form an adequate idea of them, it is necessary to travel through the whole work. He lays down, clearly and explicitly, that in Scripture there is neither precept nor example for monastic vows. Certain passages brought forward by the abettors of monastic establishments, he subjects to a scrutiny and pronounces to have no application to their argument. He enters also on an examination of the reasons alleged in support of celibacy, and does not hesitate to affirm

that his opponents have completely failed in making good their case. The monastic life he represents as a tissue of errors, falsehoods, ignorance, folly, deceit, and confusion. The nature of the vow is inconsistent, he maintains, with the true faith, and hostile to Christian liberty. He next gives an account of the origin of vows, which we transcribe in his own words

Humanum inventum est votum, humanum inventum manet. Sed non in totum tamen ridiculum est, nam vovere subjectionem istam liberam ad tempus, non est inutile. Videmus enim primitivæ ecclesiæ institutum fuisse et morem plane saluberrimum, ut juventutem seniores sibi ad tempus commendatam, instituerent in fide et disciplina, quod et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli epistolæ indicant, ubi juniores volunt subdi senioribus. Hinc primum natæ scholæ Christianæ in quibus et puellæ quoque erudiebantur, ut sanctæ *Agnis* habet historia. Ex his tandem collegia et monasteria pullulaverunt, propter eos, qui perpetuò et liberè in scholis istis manere volebant.

Ubi autem cœperunt ii, qui juventutem instituendam susceperunt, segnes fieri et sua curare, aucti opibus et otio, et juventus rebellior facta, tum voti laqueos invenerunt quibus conscientias alligatas tenerent sub disciplina, ut quisque seipsum metu peccati cohiberet, et otium fieret curatoribus. Sicut et nunc mos est furiosus academiarum, juventutem irretire juramentis, et conscientias eorum excarnificare, ne sit necesse illis vigilare et solicitos esse in utramque aurem secure dormiant. Sic ex liberis et Christianis scholis servilia et Judaica monasteria

veræ que synagogæ impietatis facta sunt. Si igitur votum hodiernum ad priscum illum morem revocatur, et ita servaretur, nihil ibi periculi esset, et absque dubio apud Deum aliter non agnoscitur, quam ad illum morem servandum temporaliter, tantum ut institutionem Christianam infirmiores et rudiores animi imbibant, et postea rursum liberi dimittantur, id quod infra etiam operibus Dei testibus probabimus.

Without expressing any opinion on the accuracy of this passage, we proceed to the part of the work which contains an account of the habits of the monks and of their manner of conducting public worship. After alleging the inconsistency of monastic vows with the commands of God, and accusing those who take them, of no less crimes than sedition and blasphemy, Luther adds—

"Primum æmulantur hodie lectionibus matutinalibus, epistolis, evangeliis, et singularibus cantibus; alterum homiliis; tertium, responsoriis, antiphonis, gradualibus, et quæcunque communiter leguntur vel cantantur, sed infeliciter omnia, non enim docendi aut exhortandi, sed operandi tantum studio omnia fiunt, sic enim legisse, sic cantasse, sic boasse, illis satis est; hoc opus quæritur, et vocatur cultus Dei, quid autem legatur et cantetur, aut cur legatur et cantetur, ne in mentem quidem venit, nec est propheta qui interpretetur et doceat. Proinde ne sint otiosi in hoc mirabili cultu Dei, dedunt sese curæ et solicitudini prælegendi, præcantandi, rectè distinguendi, pausandi, terminandi, attendendi, hoc unum spectantes, ut benè, devotè et laudabiliter legatur et cantetur. Hic est finis

ultimatus hujus cultus divini; ibi disciplinæ, pœnæ, articuli, statuta, peccata et merita hoc cultu digussima. Dicas hunc gravissimum cultum Dei in hoc exerceri, ut viri illi magni et graves saltem particulam aliquam grammaticæ et musicæ toto vitæ tempore discant. Quid enim aliud quærere possunt judicari? Si intret, ut Paulus ait, aliquis infidelis in medium horum mugientium, murmurantium, boantium, videns eos neque prophetare, neque orare, sed tantum suo more sonare, ceu fistulas illas organorum, (quæ sibi optimo consilio sociaverunt, et simile juxta simile suum posuerunt,) nonne optimo jure dicet: "Quid insanitis?" Quid enim sunt nisi fistulæ aut tibiæ illæ, quas Paulus dicit, nullam vocum distinctionem dare, sed tantum in aëra sonare, non aliter, quam si quis declamaturus suggestum conscendat, et horam totam sonet verba peregrina in populum, quæ nemo intelligat. Nonne hic in aëra loquitur? Nonne insanus judicabitur? Scilicet talis cultus decebat sacrilegos et blasphemos adversarios Christi, ut essent nihilo meliores mutis illis et ligneis fistulis, multo labore sonantes, nihil docentes, nihil discentes, nihil orantes, et tamen hoc opus insaniæ pro summa *latria* jactarent, omnium opes illius, meritis ad sese corrivarent, et hanc quidem domum talis decet sanctitudo.

By this time, Luther, we perceive, was fully satisfied of the absurdity of monastic regulations. In the fifth section of this book he endeavours to show their inconsistency with charity, with obedience to parents, and with the love of our neighbour. The following passage is marked by his usual decision of language, and contains an ac-

count of his own feelings when a member of a monastery.

Eadem obedientia pulchre sese exoneraverunt operibus illis misericordiæ, quæ Christus, Matth. 25. in judicio sese exacturum minatur. Videat monachus famelicum, sitibundum, nudum, vagum, captivum, &c. sed caveat ne egrediatur monasterium, ne visitet infirmum, ne consoletur tristem, sed sinat ire et perire, quidquid perierit, claudat viscera sua, etiamsi possit illum juvare. Postea dicat, ideo sese omisisse charitatem, quia noluerit victimam offerre præ obedientia. Idem faciat, si pater aut mater opera ejus cœperint opus habere, ut vel pascat, vel serviat iis. O furorem inauditum! Ego sanè in meo monachatu, quanquam hebes sum et rudis, nihil tamen ægrius tuli, quam hanc crudelitatem, et negatæ charitatis sacrileguim. Neque potui unquam persuaderi, ut quietus crederem rectam et licitam esse obedientiam istam monasticam adversus charitatem, tam impudenter sævientem. Dicent vero hic: Si ista monachis detur licentia vagandi, peribit universum institutum monasticum, desolabuntur monasteria, ruet cultus Dei, singulis euntibus, ut parentibus et proximis egentibus ministrent. Pulchrè. Ut ergo stent lapides et ligna, ut perseveret fistularum ululatus et murmur in choro, ut rasura capitis et longa tunica non deponatur, mandatum Dei deserendum est, pro quo etiam sanguis fundendus, anima et omnia ponenda sunt. Quam sapienter, quam æque judicant isti viri de mandatis Dei? Nonne hoc est quod dixi, monasticum institutum et divinum mandatum ex diametro natura sua, pugnare? Si enim divinum mandatum servare

voles, votum perpetuum servare non potes: elige utrum volueris.

Luther was so much accustomed to make his writings the vehicle of his feelings, that we have little reason to expect exaggeration in his picture of monkish privations, however much at variance with the habits of the present age. He represents the monks to have been frequently in want of the necessaries of life, and as suffering both from hunger and deficiency of clothing. In this, as in his other works, we meet with frequent repetitions in the leading topics of discussion between him and the Catholics. Perhaps in none of his publications is there a more lavish introduction of extraneous illustration. A similar remark may be made in regard to the confidence of his tone, and his remarkable characteristic of never doubting that an honest inquirer would go along with him in his conclusions. We close our extracts with the passage which forms the termination of the work.

Hæc pro tempore de monastica volui dicere, plura dicturus, si quis ea impetierit, quanquam sic arbitror omnia scripturis et rationibus evidentibus munita, ut non solum possint adversariorum os oppilare, (quod parum spectavi,) sed etiam conscientias fideliter erga Deum erigere et securas facere, id quod maximè spectavi. Illaqueatis enim diuturnis legibus, consuetudinibus, propriis pavoribus et scrupulis, deinde sanctitatis auctoritate, multitudine et magnitudine hominum, maximè verò divinis Scripturis erroneo sensu altissimè imbibitis, certè difficillimum est mederi et libertatem tam lætam, tam desperatis et jamdudum in inferno deploratis persuadere.

Nam ut hæc pugnent et triumphent adversus papam et suas synagogas, infinitum illud academiarum, monasteriorum, collegiorum vulgus, non magnopere gaudeo, quid enim ad nos, quid sapiat perditum hoc papæ et pejorum Turcarum regnum, quod jamdudum contempsi? Nobis hoc curæ est, ut conscientias roboremus adversus Satanam in hora mortis, et securas reddamus ante Filium hominis. Insaniant homines, ut volunt, in morte saltem nos relinquent sive victi sive victores. At coram Satana et judicio Dei quis subsistet, nisi certissimis et evidentissimis verbis Dei munitus, steterit supra petram et custodiam suam, auditurus quid contradicatur si, qui possit dicere Deo sine hæsitatione et trepidatione cordis. Hæc tu dixisti, qui mentiri non potes. Unde et ego per Christum oro omnes, qui meo voluerint hoc consilio uti, et deserto monasterio libertati sese reddere, ut ante omnia suam conscientiam probent, ne forte hoc tentent novitate rei allecti, aut solo hominum contemptu vel odio. Nam ii in morte, suscitata et vexata per Satanam conscientia de apostasia, de soluto voto, &c. non subsistent, sed ad sacrilegam pœnitentiam spectabunt, fientque novissima pejora prioribus. Opus est enim hic solis verbis Dei puris fortiter inniti, et ne judicio quidem Dei cedere, cum sciamus veracem eum esse, sese negare non posse. Verba autem, quæ huc valeant, ea sunt, quæ supra posuimus, in quibus solus Christus nobis lux et dux præficitur, et quidquid est ab hominibus inventum, damnatur. Ipse igitur dulcis dux et lux nostra Jesus Christus illustret et roboret cor nostrum, in virtute sua propria et verbo salutari in vitam æternam,

cui est gloria, et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen.

M.D.XXII. Mense Januario.

1 Petri ii.

Quasi liberi et non quasi velamen habentes malicię libertatem, sed sicut servi Dei.

LUTHER'S PREFACE

TO HIS

TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

This composition is of considerable length and consists chiefly of an exposition of the intimate connection subsisting between the Old and New Testament. The following are extracts from the introductory and concluding passages.

INTRODUCTORY PART.

Multi sunt, qui veteris Testamenti libros non satis magni faciunt, quod putent illos Judæis tantum scriptos esse, nec porro aliquem eorum esse usum, cum nihil contineant præter quasdam veterum historias; sic enim sentiunt, sufficere sibi Novum Testamentum, in veteri nihil quærendum præter allegorias. Atque hæc ferè Origenis et Hieronymi sententia est, et aliorum multorum. Verùm Christus Johan. v. aliter sentit, sic enim inquit: "Scrutamini scripturas, illæ enim de me testantur;" et Paulus monet Timotheum, ut sit sedulus sacrarum literarum lector. Et ad Rom. i. gloriatur evangelium in scripturis a Deo promissum esse. Item, 1 Corinth. xv. dicit, Christum, sicut in scriptura

prædictum est, ex semine Davidis natum, mortuum esse et resurrexisse. Et Petrus quoque sæpius lectorem ad scripturam remittit. Docent autem nos omnes hi loci, quam non contemnendi sint veteris Testamenti libri, sed quod summo studio sint legendi cum ipsi apostoli testimonia suæ doctrinæ ex veteri Testamento accersant illiusque auctoritate evangelium confirment. Sicut S. Lucas quoque scribit, Act. xvii. quod Thessalonicenses quotidie scrutabantur Scripturas, num cum Pauli doctrina convenirent. Magni igitur æstimandi sunt veteris Testamenti libri, quod sint ceu fundamentum quoddam, quo novum Testamentum nititur, unde certa argumenta novi Testamenti peti possint. Et novum Testamentum quid, quæso, aliud est, quam aperta quædam prædicatio sententiarum et promissionum veteris Testamenti, quæ per Christum sunt completæ. Volui igitur breviter in libros veteris Testamenti præfari, ut simplicioribus viam quandam aperirem quam secuti, majore cum fructu hos libros legerent. Ac principio quidem omnes pios diligenter admonitos volo, ne offendantur simplicitate orationis, item absurdis in speciem historiis, quæ sæpius lectori occurrent. Sint enim quantumvis simplicia et stulta, quæ hic scribuntur, tamen sunt divinæ majestatis, potentiæ et sapientiæ divinæ verba, opera, judicia, et facta. Hæ enim illæ sunt literæ, quæ ex sapientibus et prudentibus stultos faciunt quas non nisi parvuli et stulti assequuntur, sicut Christus quoque Matth. ii. Ergo cum hos libros legis, non tuum judicium nec rationem tuam sequeris, sed sic senties, te omnium maximis ac pretiosissimas res tractare, te in possessionem am-

plissimi cujusdam thesauri venisse, cujus pretium nemo unquam æstimare queat, ex quo divina sapientia hauriatur. Ideo autem simplicius et stultius sapientiam suam nobis in his libris proposuit Deus, ut superbiam et arrogantiam nostram penitus retunderet. Hæ enim sunt illæ fasciæ, hoc præsepe illud est, in quo Christus jacet, ad quod pastores remittit Angelus; tenues quidem et viles sunt fasciæ, verum thesaurus involutus maximi est pretii, Christus scilicet. Hoc igitur primum scias, hunc librum esse librum legis, in quo docemur, quid faciendum, quid non sit faciendum; præter hæc adduntur quoque exempla et historiæ servatæ et non servatæ legis. Et quemadmodum evangelium gratiæ est liber, qui docet unde ea facultas petenda sit, ut legi satisfaciamus. Sunt autem præter illam gratiæ doctrinam, multa alia præcepta de mortificando vetere homine addita (illis enim præceptis opus est cum semper in nobis hæreant reliquiæ peccati, neque quisquam hominum perfectus sit) sic in veteri Testamento legibus quædam promissiones et sententiæ de Christo intertextæ sunt, quibus servati sunt sancti Patres qui sub lege ante revelatum Christum, in fide tamen promissi liberatoris vixerunt, et quemadmodum Novum Testamentum hoc præcipue agit, ut gratiam et pacem per remissionem peccatorum in Christo nobis annunciet. Sic vetus Testamentum hoc præcipuè agit, ut proponat leges, peccata ostendat et arguat, exigat quoque a nobis bona opera. Atque hunc veteris Testamenti scias esse scopum.

CONCLUSION OF THE PREFACE.

Hactenus dixi, diligenter cogitandum esse piis

omnibus, ac præcipuè docentibus, ut rectè de Mose judicent, et discernant, quid ad Judæos pertineat, et quid nobis prosit, videlicet ut cum leges tradit, ne judicemus nos obligari, nisi quatenus cum notitia legis naturæ congruit, et eam declarat, Sit Moses sui populi doctor et legislator, nos alium magistrum habemus, Christum, qui nobis abunde tradidit omnia, quæ nobis discenda et facienda sunt, confirmat illam ipsam doctrinam legis divinæ quæ in Mose exposita et illustrata est, sicut inquit, Non veni solvere legem et prophetas, &c. et addit evangelii doctrinam de suo beneficio. Sed tamen et Mosi libros propter has, quas dixi, utilitates retineamus, et studiosè legamus, quod decalogi doctrinam diligenter et copiosè enarrat et illustrat, quòd plenus est exemplorum et de pœnis impiorum et de fide et obedientia, et glorificatione sanctorum, quòd collegit dulcissimas promissiones de Christo, quæ propriè etiam ad nos pertinent, itaque sic legamus Mosen, ut etiam ipsam evangelii historiam legimus, in qua etsi multa sunt, ut sic dicam, personalia, quæ ad alios nihil pertinent, ut quod leprosos Christus mittit ad sacerdotes cum sacrificiis, et similia, tamen exemplum fidei et obedientiæ ad omnes pertinet. Hæc copiosius fuerunt dicenda, propterea quod sæpe multi in ecclesia in hoc errore fuerunt, de legibus Mosaicis, nec viderunt, quid nobis ex Mose præcipue dicendum sit, aut quomodo discernendum inter legem moralem seu decalogum, et alias politicas seu forenses leges, ut et Origenes et alii eum secuti hic hallucinati sunt, et nostra ætate multi contenderunt etiam forenses controversias ex Mose dijudicandas esse; extiterunt interdum etiam

Anabaptistæ et horum similes fanatici, qui circumcisionem et Sabbata Judaica contenderent observanda esse. Simus igitur cauti et de Mose ex Christiana doctrina judicemus, quæ monstrat, quomodo utiliter legendus sit, et quæ copia salutaris doctrinæ ex ipso peti possit, quæ nos erudire potest ad salutem (ut Paulus 2 Timoth. iii. de lectione sacrarum literarum loquitur) et confirmare fidem nostram in Jesum Christum, qua similiter patres, ut nos, Deo accepti et salvi facti sunt.

PARTICULARS

RELATIVE TO

CAROLOSTAD, SPALATIN, JUSTUS JONAS, AND CRUCIGER.

CAROLOSTAD,

Being of a respectable family, had the benefit of good eductation at an early age. The places where he studied have not been accurately ascertained, but it is certain that he resided some time at Rome. On returning from Italy, he fixed his residence at Wittemberg, where he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and became one of the earliest professors in that university; he was the first who came forward to advocate Luther's cause by his writings—a priority in the lists of controversy, which may perhaps be ascribed as much to his characteristic enterprize and ambition for distinction, as to motives of friendship. He was likewise the first Catholic in the station of priest, who took the decisive step of entering on the married state, in defiance of the long established prohibition of the head of the church. Unfortunately his prudence was not equal to his zeal, and he was deficient in the respect due to the judgment and the attainments of Luther. In his

latter years he went to Basil, and died there in 1541, after having filled the station of a public teacher during ten years. The testimony of Zwinglius in regard to him is favourable, that eminent reformer considering him as possessed both of knowledge and energy, although unskilful in the manner of bringing his powers to bear on the particular subject under discussion.

SPALATIN.

To the particulars already mentioned (p. 313) about this meritorious person, it is proper to add, that on his consulting Luther in regard to the course of study which was most likely to afford him a thorough knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, the latter recommended the writings of Erasmus next to those of Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. Above all, he advised his friend to drink at the fountain-head, and to obtain a familiar acquaintance with Scripture itself. Spalatin continued throughout life a zealous friend of Luther and the Reformation, and the access which his official situation gave him to correspondence with the leading men in Germany, was of the greatest use to the cause. He wrote a book, called "Chronicon," containing an account of Saxony; and he translated, from Latin into German, the work of Erasmus "De Institutione Principis," prefixing to his version a dedication to the emperor Charles V.

JUSTUS JONAS.

In addition to his professorship at Wittemberg, Jonas was one of the clergymen of that city, and appears, from the suavity of his manners and the extent of his information, to have been a great favourite with many of his cotemporaries. Among those who have left ample testimonies to his good qualities, we find the names of Melancthon, Stigelius, Camerarius, and Siberus. According to them he was not only animated by cordial attachment to his friends, but conspicuous for piety, industry, and erudition. His writings are not numerous, and relate principally to topics connected with his course of teaching. He published an answer to Wycelius on the death of Luther, in which he brought forward an ample vindication of the memory of his friend.—At the same time his attachment to Luther did not interrupt his good understanding with Erasmus.—The following account of Justus Jonas is taken from Melchior Adam:

" Northusæ imperiali Cheruscorum oppido, Justus Jonas in lucem editus est, anno Christi, millesimo, quadringentesimo, nonagesimo tertio, die quinto Junii. Inciderunt autem studia ejus Theologica in ipsa initia mutata religionis fuitque Jonas hic non tantùm auditor et spectator, sed etiam actor, approbatorve eorum, quæ in religionis negotio tunc gesta. Sub annum Christi millesimum, quingentesimum, vicesimum primum, mortuo Henningo

Goeden juriscõnsulto celeberrimo, reique ecclesiasticæ in collegio omnium sanctorum Wittembergæ præposito, Jonäs, in locum ejus est surrogatus, doctorque theologiæ die decimo quarto Octobris ejusdem anni renunciatus. Ubi, cum variæ exorirentur quæstiones, præsertim super missa privata, et ejus abrogatione, ac princeps elector Saxoniæ, ne ea res motus excitaret majores, metueret, ipse cum collegis ac delectis electori rationem ejus rei reddidit, utque in ipsorum facto, quamvis tunc insolenti et periculoso, princeps acquiesceret, effecit. Interfuit etiam postea plerisque omnibus, qui religionis causa instituti, conventibus, suoque loco et veritatem tueri et pacem stabilire, si quà posset prudenter annisus est. Nam cùm sacrum literarum peritus, et juris etiam civilis non plane hospes esset, negotia ecclesiastica, quibus politica sæpe immixta, dexterius aliis administravit. Itaque anno undetrigesimo, cum Luthero et Melancthone ad colloquium Marpurgi indictum venit: et anno sequenti celeberrimis illis comitiis Augustæ celebratis cum eodem Melancthone adfuit: et negotium religionis adjuvit."

CRUCIGER

Was full twenty years younger than Luther, and had the advantage of acquiring Greek and Latin at an early age. Leipsic was the scene of his first studies, but on reaching the time when it became proper for him to learn Hebrew, he repaired to the

more celebrated seminary of Wittemberg. Few of the Reformers possessed more miscellaneous attainments than Cruciger. At the diet of Worms he attended in the capacity of notary, and was afterwards of much assistance to Luther in the great work of translating the Scriptures. He was so indefatigable a scribe, that it was to him the public owed copies of the chief part of the expositions and sermons delivered by Luther in the university and church of Wittemberg. He was appointed rector of the school of Magdeburg, and gave great satisfaction in the discharge of the office; but the thirst of information was all powerful with him, and induced him to return to the university of Wittemberg. The same passion led him to add the study of mathematics and even of medicine to his theological labours. For several years, in the latter part of life, he held the station of rector of the university; but his career was not of long duration, for he died in 1548.

FUNERAL VERSES

ON

LUTHER.

The best scholars in Wittemberg were anxious to testify their regard for the man who had lived so long among them, and had rendered such distinguished service to the cause of religion.

The inscription on his tomb-stone deserves to be recorded.

Continet hic tumulus Martini membra Lutheri:
Nosse sat hoc fuerat: sed tamen ista lege.

Near the statue are the following:

Hic prope Martini rursus victura Lutheri
In parvo tumulo molliter ossa cubant;
Quæ prius horrendis errorum pressa tenebris,
Atque operum obscura nube sepulta fuit.
Hoc monstrante iterum patefacta est gratia Christi
Quæque Deo acceptos nos facit esse, fides.
Namque superstitio cum regnum cœca teneret:
Et premeret longo dogmata vera situ:
Ille Dei afflatu monitus, verboque vocatus,
Lucem evangelii sparsit in orbe novam.

Instructusque, tubæ Paulinæ et fulmine linguæ,
Exploso cœpit vera docere, dolo.
Utque agnum in media Baptista ostendit eremo,
Qui pia pro populi victima labe foret:
Sic quoque monstravit te, maxime Christe, Lutherus;
Cum totus tenebris obrutus orbis erat.
Et legis tabulæ, quas in Sinaide Moses
Allisas fregit rupe, propheta Dei;
Quid distent Evangelio: quod pectora sanet;
Conscia quæ culpæ terruit ira Dei;
Hoc prius amissum discrimen reddidit orbi,
Essent ut Christi munera nota magis.
Arguit Ausonii fraudes atque impia regna
Pontificis, populo quæ nocuere Dei.
Pollutasque monens vitare idola per aras,
Ad verum adduxit corda levata Deum.
Magnanimusque Deo, cursum, servante peregit:
Insidias contra multiplicesque minas.
Tandem ex hac vita tranquilla morte vocatus,
Ardua propitio venit ad astra Deo.
Sentit ubi coram felicia gaudia Christi
Veraque post obitum præmia vivus habet.
Grata Deo tanto sit pro doctore futura
Ætas; quæ Christi dogmata vera sciet:
Atque oret precibus, Deus hanc, quam præbuit orbi
Lucem evangelii servet ut ipse sui.

Decessit in patria sua Isleben.
Anno a natali Christi M.D.XLVI.
Die Februarii XVIII.
Anno ætatis suæ LXIII.
Academia Witteberg. ut filia patri dilecto.

E. C.

On the stone:

Martini Lutheri S. Theologiæ
D. Corpus H.L.S.E. Qui anno
Christi M.D XLVI. XII.
CAL. MARTII EISLEBII
IN PATRIA S.M.O.C.V.
ANNO LXIII. M. III. D. X.

Other epitaphs and inscriptions are extant, from which we select the following:

PHILIPP. MELANCTHON.

Occidit omnigena venerandus laude Lutherus,
Qui Christum docuit non dubitante fide.
Ereptum deflet vero, hunc ecclesia luctu
Cujus erat doctor, veriùs, imo pater.
Occidit Israel præstans auriga Lutherus,
Quem mecum sanus lugeat omnis homo.
Nunc luctumque suum lacrymoso carminè prodat
Hoc etenim orbatos flere, dolore decet.

THEOD. BEZA.

Roma orbem domuit, Romam sibi papa subegit,
Viribus illa suis, fraudibus iste suis.
Quantò isto major Lutherus, major et illa;
Istum, illamque uno qui domuit calamo.
I nunc! Alciden memorato Græcia mendax,
Lutheri ad calamum ferrea clava nihil.

JOANN. MAJOR.

Lutherus decimum confecit strage Leonem;
De clava noli quærere; penna fuit.

JOACHIM A BEUST.

In sua concessit quo tempore fata Lutherus,
Mortuus est puræ religionis apex.
Mens it ad astra, die cui dat Concordia nomen,
Lutherum in cœlum quæ comitata redit.
Hùic quia successit lacera discordia veste,
Da populo Eliæ pallia, Christe tuo.

MELANCTHON'S OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CONFERENCE AT WORMS.

The following Observations on the Conference at Worms held in 1540, are given in the words of Melancthon.

Renovat mihi colloquii Wormaciensis recordatio acerbum luctum et verum dolorem, quem cepi ex interitu duorum quorum ibi recens consuetudo mihi dulcissima fuit, D. Capitonis videlicet et Simonis Grynæi, qui cum ambo propter excellentem eruditionem, virtutem, et pietatem magno ornamento ecclesiæ Christi fuerint, publica jactura et agnoscenda et deploranda est. Nihil enim dicam hoc loco de privata nostra amicitia, qua fruemur aliquanto post multo suavius, cum unà cum Christo, prophetis et apostolis conversabimur. Grynæus cum videret magnum decus esse ecclesiæ eruditionem, magno labore accendere omnium honestarum artium studia conabatur, optimos auctores veteres edebat ac enarrabat. Erat ingenium capax omnium bonarum artium, sed hæc major laus est, quod non fastidit doctrinam ec-

clesiæ, sed semper ad philosophica studia lectionem adjunxit, prophetarum et apostolorum. Capito ecclesiam et voce et perpetuis monumentis erudiit.— Sed ut de Wormaciensibus congressibus dicam. Eramus eò missi ut amanter et placide, sed tamen, sicut præsertim in ecclesia decet, publice de controversiis, inquisita veritate, dirimendis, conferremus. Ac sperabamus ad futuros gubernatores colloquii et βραβευτὰς, non mutos, sed qui contentionem moderarentur, et eligerent sententias veras ac concordiæ utiles. Sed dum adversarii defugiunt publicam collationem, et inter se aliquot insulsos et flexiloquos articulos componunt, nobis postea obtrudendos, nos otiosi fere quotidie conveniebamus omnes, ac de singulis controversiis summo candore acerrime disserebamus. Ibi memini multa singulorum pie dicta, quæ a multis in commentarios relata sunt. Sed ut cætera omittam: ventum erat ad controversiam de auctoritate episcoporum et legibus, quæ in ecclesia humana auctoritate conditæ sunt. Ibi cum mentio fieret decreti apostolici, quod est in Actis capite 15, audiebamus et D. Andream, Osiandrum, et D. Capitonem historica quædam recitantes ex Judæorum monumentis, quæ quia nonnihil lucis addunt decreto apostolico, duxi hic commemoranda esse. Scio prudentibus omnibus historica grata esse. Et narratio illa continet exemplum eruditionis, ortum haud dubiè a summis prophetis, itaque magno me munere judicabam ab utroque, ab Osiandro et a Capitone donari cum veterem illum ritum nobis ignotum exponerent; dicebant enim Judæos veteres, florente adhuc eorum politia, siquando vicinam aliquam civitatem Ethnicam bello ceperant, aut fœderè sibi adjunxerant,

non solitos imponere victis legem Mosaicam aut circumcisionem, sed tantum hæc in conditionibus pacis, seu formula fœderis præcipere, ut deletis idolis, unum ac verum Deum, conditorem omnium rerum, qui se patefecit in verbo dato populo Israel colerent; deinde quia ethnici scortationem non solebant prohibere, et nimium laxarent frenum vagæ libidini, addebatur hoc, ut prohiberent scortationem. Addebantur et reliqua capita quæ in decreto apostolico recensentur, ne rebus immolatis dolo, ne sanguine et suffocatis vescerentur. Nec obscura est ratio de immolatis; noluerunt enim, pios ad convivia et pompas festis diebus eorum, qui idola colebant, accedere, ne societate sua confirmarent impia sacrificia, quæ tunc fiebant. De sanguine et suffocato sumptum est præceptum ex historia Nohæ. Nam hunc ritum vetustiorem Moisæ tradi vicinis Judæi victores voluerunt, ut esset monumentum severissimi præcepti, quod Deus Nohæ commendavit, de privata cæde. Ergo etiam veteres gubernatores populi Judaici intellexerunt ceremonias Mosaicas ad suam tantum politiam pertinere, nec esse justitiam, promissionem veræ salutis pertinere etiam ad gentes et has ita placere Deo et justas esse, si verum Deum, qui promiserat semen, in quo benedicendæ essent omnes gentes, agnoscerent, et fide invocarent, et in moribus iis legibus obtemperarent, quas omnium hominum mentibus Deus impressit. Quare apostoli, quod proprium erat muneris ipsorum, initio pronunciarunt de ceremoniarum abrogatione, et Judæos ac Gentes hoc onere levaverunt. Deinde præcepta de idolis et de scortatione adjici necesse fuit, ut facile

intelligi potest, quæ cum essent addenda, usi sunt formula, usitata veterum gubernatorum ejus populi, a qua minus abhorrebant vicini. Hæc si quis expendet, intelliget longe discrepare exemplum apostolorum, a consilio episcoporum, qui postea a se excogitatas ceremonias, cœlibatum, et ciborum discrimina et quidem tanquam cultus ecclesiæ imposuerunt. Hæc historiola ostendit hanc partem in decreto, nec novam nec ingratam fuisse vicinis. Hæc ut recenserem, admonitus sum recordatione Capitonis, cujus memoria studiosis commendanda est, ut talis viri mores, pietatem, et studia imitentur. Nec profecto quicquam habeo, quod de eo conventu relatu, dignius judico. Nam publicæ tridui declamationes, verius quam disputationes, quales fuerint, lector ex hac editione cognoscet. Fortasse prodest extare ἐφολοκρασίαν Eccianam eo, ut boni et graves palam, videant, sophistas illos nec candorem nec studium veritatis ad has tantas deliberationes adferre. Audivi Eccium gloriose jactitantem posse se utramque partem tueri. Putat de laude ingenii certari; non quærit veritatem, non studet consulere ecclesiæ; denique in hac causa deploranda erat omnium lacrymis humani generis miseria, quod propter malum originis, hæc præstans natura, primum horribili ira Dei, deinde ingenti mole calamitatum hujus vitæ, et morte ipsa oppressa est præterea imagine Dei in nobis deformata, nunc in tenebris et contumacia perpetua contra legem Dei versatur. Hoc tantum malum isti Epicurei extenuant. Sed hæc relinquo cogitanda pio lectori, cum conferret utriusque conciones. Non arbitror autem quenquam pium adeo lentum esse, καὶ ἄχολον, ut sine

fremitu Eccii sophismata et ineptas verborum præstigias legere possit. Ludit vocabulis criminis, culpæ, peccati capitalis; convertit testimonia, quæ fecit nihil contra nos facere, denique Socraticus disputator est, perpetuò suam sententiam occultat, tantum hoc agitat, ut oppugnet adversarium. Ingenue dicam quod sentio, sæpe mihi et stomachum et bilem hæ insidiosæ tergiversationes, captiones γοητειας moverunt, quæ Phormionem aut Pseudolum in comœdiis, non theologum in explicatione doctrinæ decent. Hæc eò commemoro, ut cogitent studiosi, quantum sit periculi cum his sycophantis congredi: seque ad similia certamina majore cura præparent, ac primum quidem vera et salutaria ecclesiæ dicere studeant, deinde luceat in oratione, tanquam in vultu ingenuitas dicentis, sitque propria et simplex orationis forma, qualis Apelleis est color in tabulis. Hæc ut efficiam conniti me non exigua animi contentione, multi norunt. Eccii vero voluntatem longe aliam in hoc ipso congressu fuisse, ipsius declamationes ostendunt, qui de industria quædam involvit, deinde aperte falsa et impia attexit. Nam in postrema peroratione, cum multa insulsa cumulasset, quæ indigna erant responsione, tandem stentorea voce clamitans, confirmabat vulgatam sui gregis opinionem, quæ agentes pœnitentiam jubet dubitare, an Deo reconcilientur, jubet hos invocantes Deum dubitare an placeant, an Deus eorum preces accipiat, ac detorquebat eò dictum Salomonis. Nescit homo an amore vel odio dignus sit. Illi vero doctores odio digni sunt, qui Salomonis dicto affingunt ethnicam sententiam. Sic Epicurii aut Pyrrhonii loquuntur, odium et amorem Dei incertum esse. Est ne incertum displicere Deo

Neronem? Sic in ecclesia loqui furor est, in qua et conscius sibi sceleris expavescere iram Dei debet, et agens pœnitentiam certo statuere se in gratiam recipi et exaudiri propter filium Dei. Extat vox evangelii, quæ, est promissio condonationis. Additum est jusjurandum: "Vivo ego," inquit Deus, "nolo mortem peccatoris." Extat mandatum, ut promissioni credamus. Et nominatim, fides toties postulatur. Hæc omnia simul obruit et delet opinio Ecciana, quæ jubet dubitare. Quid dicat, et velit Salomon non est obscurum, modo dextre accipiatur ejus dictum. De variis eventibus in hac vita disserit, ut doceat nos nec efferri blandiente fortuna, nec frangi animis in rebus adversis; ac de voluntate Dei, non ex his eventibus, sed ex aliis testimoniis judicare. Eruditissimum et plenum pietatis præceptum est, sed accidit Salomoni idem quod ille dicebat; dextra se præcepta tradere sed quosdam auditores sinistra accipere. Hæc eo recito, ut qui legent has Eccii pagellas, admoniti citius deprehendant errorem, ac simul deplorent ecclesiæ tenebras, in qua tales Pyrrhoniæ sententiæ ab adversariis nostris defenduntur et confirmantur, quæ Filium Dei manifesta contumelia adficiunt. Cogitent etiam omnes pios et ex animo debere execrari tam absurdos errores, et quærere melius doctrinæ genus. Hoc studium etiamsi in odio est, tamen et Deo, et ecclesiæ et nobis ipsis debemus. Scio frustra hæc dici iis, qui religiones judicant fabulosas esse, et ecclesiæ certamina tanquam facem dissidiorum publicorum exsecrantur. Et hac ultima ætate mundi videmus hanc Cyclopicam philosophiam late vagari, et multos habere adplausores. Sed ut Maccabæorum tempore non

deleta est ecclesia funditus, ita scimus et nunc, quanquam atrociter grassantibus Turcis et domesticis hostibus, reliquias ecclesiæ Deum servaturum esse, apud quas has pias cohortationes de puritate evangelii inquirenda et propaganda valere speramus. Erat exigua Ecclesia, cum Filius Dei penderet in cruce, et subitæ tenebræ medio die cœlum ac terras involverent, nec tamen funditus deleta est. Sed jam et latro et centurio agnoscunt et prædicant Christum. Ita nos in hac mundi senecta, cum propter εἰδωλομανία et alia scelera mundum oppressit ira Dei, tamen clamore nostro adversus ἄθεους laudes Dei et Filii ejus Jesu Christi sonemus. Irascamur Epicureis sapientibus, qui deridentnomen Dei: dimicemus cum Turcis qui Filio Dei maledicunt: refutemus impios sacrificulos et monachos, qui idola colunt, nec tribuunt Filio Dei justos honores, non agnoscunt esse mediatorem, non volunt cum fide invocari. Magnum et multiplex bellum jam ecclesia Dei gerit. Sed scriptum est de hoc tempore, tunc stabit pro filiis populi sui dux magnus, qui est Filius Dei victor et triumphator. Huic nos piis et ardentibus votis commendemus, et ab eo auxilium et salutem perpetuam expectemus. Ego hac me consolatione et alias sæpe, et adhuc sustento, quod ex Deo est, non delebitur. Nec vero dubito divinitus patefactum esse genus doctrinæ, quod fulget in nostris ecclesiis, nec sum adeo ferreus, ut solus non adficiar, vel publicis Germaniæ periculis, cui jam adversus externum hostem consensu principum opus est, vel domesticis vulneribus nostrarum ecclesiarum, quæ regi melius tranquillis temporibus possent, nam discordia etiam in parte sanlore dis-

ciplinam impediit. Hæret autem discordia in republica adversariorum culpa, quorum durities asperrimos scopulos, et Caucasi rupes vincet. Negant enim pacem fore, nisi oppresserint veritatem. Nostras vero sententias fuisse moderatas, acta publica ad omnem posteritatem testabuntur, toties flagitavimus veram dijudicationem, toties ipse supplex oravi potentes, ut saluti ecclesiæ consulerent; sed plane visus sum, ut in Græco versu, ut navis quassata procellis supplicare scopulis. Quare ecclesias nostras Deo commendemus, et nostrum officium bona conscientia faciamus, ac precemur Deum, ut et principum mentes gubernet, qui utrumque curare debent, ut et de Deo ac Filio ejus Jesu Christo, recte doceantur homines, et armis patria adversus barbarum hostem defendatur, qui sævitiam suam non tantum in vulgus exercet; sed multo crudelius in ipsos principes. Neque tamen sinet Deus hac barbaria deleri funditùs ecclesias, nec quinta monarchia futura est. Bene vale.

LETTER

FROM

MELANCTHON TO LUTHER.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONFERENCE OF SMALCALD,

IN 1540.

S. D. scripserat Lundensis rediens ex Hispania, imperatorem Carolum venturum in Germaniam, non ut bellum civile moveret, sed ut de concordia ecclesiarum deliberaret, sarcienda moderatis rationibus. Ideo hortatus est Lundensis nostros principes, ut et ipsi deliberarent quid defensuri essent, aut largituri adversariis. Hanc ob causam indictus est conventus Smalcaldensis. Allatæ sunt deliberationes, quarum consensus summus fuit, non posse abjici eos articulos quos in confessione et Apologia confitemur. Constituto doctrinæ consensu de adiaphoris non odiose pugnandum esse. Deliberatio

nostra, cui cætera subscripserunt, accurate et erudite videtur scripta, ut Paulus narrare poterit. Hæc dum aguntur in conventu, allatum est responsum imperatoris Caroli, in quo narrat imperator, se in Germaniam venisse non hostili animo, sed acturum esse de concordia ecclesiarum, et spem ostendit, se daturum pacem, eaque de re dixit, se paulo post responsurum esse. Hoc dictum satis quidem αἰνιγματῶδες est, sed nos tamen interpretamur esse ἐιρηνικον. Aliquanto post venit comes novæ aquilæ; is adfert deliberationem de concordia, cui additæ erant quædam imperatoris expostulationes. Erat legatio quædam aulica ironia instructa; comites Manderschid, et novæ aquilæ præ se ferebant, se non esse missos ab imperatore, sed tamen consilium suum imperatori placere. Summa consilii hæc erat. Cum malit imperator publicas controversias componi sine majore tumultu, Granvellano, et his duobus comitibus videri consultum, ut petamus hanc rem privatim peti ab imperatore, eum quasi arbitrum faciamus harum controversiarum privatim. Quod si faceremus, imperatorem adhibiturum esse Granvellanum et paucos alios, et delecturum utrinque eruditos, qui dogmata judicarent et moderarentur. Contentiones vero de prædiis ecclesiarum imperatoris judicio permittendas esse: petitum et hoc est ut diserte et plane dicamus quid largiri aut defendere ad extremum velimus. Erant adjectæ satis duræ expostulationes. Nam imperator ait se ægre ferre, quod hactenus simulantes concordiæ studium hoc egerimus ut rem extraheremus, ut paulatim nostræ partes confirmarentur, non vere voluisse nos discordias tolli, quod nihil

concessimus adversariis. Narrat quam diligenter Augustæ egerit de concordia. Ac tota querela eo spectat, non videri nos appetere concordiam nisi abjiciamus totum doctrinæ genus, quod profitemur. Nos verecunde et vere respondimus de nostra voluntate erga rempublicam et studio pacis, purgavimus objecta crimina, et ingenue diximus, non velle nos conciliationem intelligi confirmationem veterum errorum, et projectionem piæ doctrinæ. Ostendimus clare, quos articulos non posse abjici censebamus, et petivimus, ut res non privatim, sed in publico conventu ageretur, ut anno superiori promisit imperatoris legatus Francofordiæ, ostendimus etiam nos nequaquam de prædiis ecclesiarum pugnare. Exempla responsionis habent principum et civitatum legati. Fortassis erunt varia judicia de nostra responsione. Non multa sunt φορτικώτερα, cætera, verecundo, ingenue, graviter, ac sine sophistica, scripta sunt. Et si vult imperator pie consulere ecclesiis, occasionem aliquam præbuisse videmur. Utinam Deus excitet animum imperatoris, ut vere velit inquisitis fontibus, et fundamentis de doctrina agi, sicut toties in hac narratione scriptum est. Habes historiam hujus conventûs præcipuam. Nam cætera sunt communia, in quibus et pleraque sunt quæ Demosthenes nominat, λοιπὰ πολιτικὰ ἀξιώματα de quibus coram loquemur. Vale.

LETTER

FROM

MELANCTHON TO LUTHER,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

CONFERENCE AT RATISBON,

IN MARCH 1541.

S. D. initio conventûs, postquam imperator Carolus exposuit, se deliberationes instituere velle de controversiis ecclesiasticis dirimendis, conjuncti Augustinæ confessioni petiverunt pertexti disputationem Wormaciensem, ut ex ea explicatione imperator et principes cognoscere possent, et quæ res veniant in controversiam, et qui sint fontes. Quomodo enim eligi veræ sententiæ a principibus possunt, nisi res hoc modo collatæ, et discrte explicatæ eis proponantur? Sed hoc consilio repudiato, ostendit imperator, se paucos quosdam delecturum esse, non ut sententiæ inter se pugnantes defenderentur, sed ut quæreretur, quæ dogmata conciliari possint. Ac ne quid periculi esset ex hac delibe-

ratione partibus præfatus est, velle se non teneri quenquam his deliberatis, nec ea vim præjudicii habere, sed omnia rursus ad consilia principum referenda esse. Postulavit item, ut sibi permitteretur, ut suo judicio quos vellet, deligeret. Nihil enim mirum esse, in re tanta dissimiles esse hominum voluntates, dissimilia studia et judicia. Sed erant, quidam, qui ab hoc toto consilio conciliationem abhorrebant, propter magnitudinem periculi. Multa enim sunt et vetera et recentia exempla, quæ admonent, in talibus conciliationibus plerumque decurri ad ambiguos, flexiloquos, fucosos, et fallaces articulos, quibus veritas obruitur, et non sanantur ecclesiæ sed dissipantur. Alii contra disputabant, hanc viam etiam profuturam esse ad declarandas sententias, quas profiterentur ecclesiæ, quæ amplexæ sunt Augustanam confessionem: præsertim si interfuturi essent boni viri, qui imperatori recitarent ut res posceret, disputationum summas. Et imperator dixerat velle se inquiri veritatem. Futurum autem animum imperatoris mitiorem, si intelligeret non tam absurda esse dogmata ecclesiarum nostrarum, ut a pontificibus, monachis, et aliis sycophantis traducuntur. Addebant item si colloquii hujus deliberata referrentur ad principes quosdam, dicturos eos liberas et honestas sententias. Tandem igitur eo decurritur: assentimur imperatori, ut hoc loco colloquium instituatur: sed ita ne condantur flexiloqui articuli, sed ut simplex veritas patefiat. Et testatus est imperator velle se inquiri veritatem: ac in delectu usus est hac æquitate. Ex pontificiis tres delegit, Julium, Eccium, et Gropperum. His addidit ex altera parte Phillip-

pum, Bucerum, et Nidanum pastorem. Petitum est, ut addantur principes seu gubernatores colloquii, et aliqui auditores seu testes, ut acta cùm imperatori, tum aliis principibus fidelius recitari possint. Delecti sunt gubernatores; dux Fredericus, Palatinus, et Granvellus. Adjuncti auditores, comes de Manderscheit, Eberhardus Ruede, consiliarius Moguntini, cancellarius Palatini electoris, Saxonicus cancellarius, cancellarius Hassicus, Jacobus Sturmius Argentinensis.

Initio congressus dux Fredericus rursus adhortatur delectos, ut sedatos ac pios animos, ad tantam deliberationem adferant, et dirimere controversias studeant. Narrat, ipsi imperatori tot jam annos eam rem maximæ curæ fuisse, eoque multorum doctorum et bonorum explorasse sententias. Cùm igitur quidam exhibuerint ipsi scriptum, quod propter aliorum immoderationem consiliis durioribus antetulerint: velle imperatorem, ut delectis liber ille proponatur, qui quasi viam monstret ad dirimendas controversias. Liber est exhibitus æquissima conditione, ut quæ non probarentur, nobis dicere liceret, et censuram adderemus. Etsi autem tutius videbatur nonnullis ex delectis, percurrere Augustanam confessionem: tamen cùm alii librum anteferrent et incivile videretur, nolle inspicere scriptum propositum ab imperatore, sine iniquis conditionibus: convenit, ut liber legeretur, et ordine dicerentur sententiæ. Initio non habebant controversias, de conditione hominis, de lapsu, de libero arbitrio, de causa peccati, de vitio originis. De his locis tunc quidem rixæ nullæ fuerunt. Secutus est locus de reconciliatione hominis, seu jus-

tificatione, de quo farrago illa neutri parti satisfaciebat, et quia novas quasdam sententias continebat, et pleraque erant obscura, impropria et flexiloqua: ut alias videretur recte dicere *fide* propter Christum justi sumus; alias contra propter donatas virtutes sumus justi: ut Thomas, seu ut Plato loquitur.

Seposito igitur libro, de summa rei libere disputatum est: et tandem ad formulam reversum, in qua recepta et explicata sententia est, fide propter Christum gratis justificamur, non propter virtutes nostras. Cum de hoc loco convenisset, redire ad librum jussi sumus. Lectus est locus sequens de ecclesia, ut facilius obtineri sequentia possent; insidiose addita est hypothesis, communem consensum et synodos legitimas non errare. Hic magnum certamen ortum est. Cumque per aliquot dies de hoc loco diligenter disputassemus jussi sumus rejicere hanc partem in aliud tempus. Lectus est locus de sacramentis, in quo cum ventum esset ad cœnam Domini, ortæ sunt rixæ de conversione substantiæ panis. Rejecta est et hæc disputatio in aliud tempus. Postea acerrima contentio de re non magna secuta est, "an in confessione," ut vocant, "sit necessaria delictorum enumeratio." Defendebatur regnum confessionis a nonnullis, vel propter auctoritatem ordinis sacerdotum, vel propter culinas monachorum. Sed ab aliis exhibita est contraria sententia, explicata copiose. Agitata est et quæstio de "satisfactionibus," de quibus formula proposita est a pontificiis brevis: ut et moderate videretur ambigua. Sed concessum est, ut et altera pars suam exhiberet sententiam. Ventum est ad locum de gradibus et potestate episcoporum,

ubi aliquid de potestate Romani pontificis significatum fuit. Adjecta erant et alia quæ vocabantur in quæstionem. Tribuebat enim scriptum auctoritatem episcopis ceremonias divinitus constitutas mutandi. Id quidam interpretabantur de parte cœnæ Domini adempta populo. Secuta sunt certamina de invocatione divorum, qui ex hac vita discesserunt, de applicatione missæ, de privata missa, de usu integræ cœnæ Domini. In his materiis cum ii, qui Augustanam confessionem amplectuntur, dissiderent a libro illo, et a pontificiis; concessum est, ut contrariæ sententiæ exhiberentur. Reliqua erat in libro longa recitatio veterum canonum, de conjugio sacerdotum. Etsi autem liber eam causam rejiciebat ad deliberationem summorum gubernatorum: tamen significabat, conjugium sacerdotibus concedendum esse juxta normam veterum canonum. Hic adjecta est liberior sententia a nobis. Tandem igitur percurso libro, jussi summus acta referre imperatori: ac reddito libro ostendere, de quibus locis convenerit, et quæ controversiæ non sint diremtæ. Etsi fuimus delecti, ut, inquisita veritate, dissidia tolleremus, tamen ut studium concordiæ ostenderent hi, qui Augustanam confessionem amplectuntur, de libro non acerbam censuram egerunt, multa improprie dicta dissimularunt, quædam donarunt adversariis, quæ tamen digna erant reprehensione, sed semper ita sensimus, non propter leves causas alenda esse dissidia: tantum de magnis et necessariis rebus pugnandum esse duximus. Postquam imperatori liber redditus est, tentatæ sunt per marchionem Joachimum et compositiones reliquarum controversiarum, de quibus articuli a nobis exhibiti erant. Cumque cætera communia de utilitate con-

cordiæ et pacis, de ingentibus malis, quæ civile bellum comitarentur, longa oratione commemorata essent: illud tandem adjectum est, moliri imperatorem novam ecclesiæ reformationem, et doctrinam de justitia fidei propagaturam etiam esse in cæteras regiones. Hæc tanta bona impediri, si cæteros articulos mordicùs retineremus, nec regrederemur aliquantulum, cessuri non hostium improbitati, sed piorum in aliis regionibus utilitati. Multi priore ratione movebantur; bellum civile, quo nihil injustius in hac vita cogitari potest, non stulte formidantes: nonnulli et altera parte orationis moveri se significabant, et censebant nostra moderatione invitandam et confirmandam esse voluntatem imperatoris, universo orbi consulere cupientis, et quasi quoddam aureum seculum promittentis. Ac disputabant, cum singuli quædam dissimulemus amicorum vitia, cum celebratissimis auctoribus Augustino et aliis, errores quosdam condonemus: posse etiam hoc tempore aliqua seu remitti seu involvi ac tegi, cum propter nostras civitates et ecclesias in quibus vastitas futura esset: tum propter gentium quæ tanquam infirmæ invitandæ essent, utilitatem. Nec leve fuit, cum de re tantæ sententiæ dicerentur. Nam alii contra: etsi publica ecclesiarum et scholarum excidia metuerent, ipsi tamen doctrinæ corruptelas fugiendas esse sentiebant. Nec hi tantum eo movebantur, quod omnibus periculis anteferenda sit veritas: sed etiam hoc considerabant. Primum moderatores pacem, quam ostendebant, non impetraturos esse, nisi totum puræ doctrinæ genus abjiceremus. Deinde domesticum consensum tuendum esse, cum constet plerosque domi

pacificationem, hanc vel cum paucorum articulorum corruptelis conjunctam asperrime reprehensuros et improbaturos esse. Postremo, secuturas esse magnas in nostris ecclesiis discordias. Illa vero promissa de aureo seculo, et de reformatione, non magni faciebant: quod viderentur esse, ut inquit Thucydides σχῆμα πολιτικου λογου. Tandem igitur Marchioni respondetur verecunde, has de reliquis controversiis deliberationes differendas esse, donec a principibus in utraque parte sententiæ de prioribus articulis dictæ essent, de quibus fortassis collocutorum judicium neutris satisfaciet. Etsi autem multæ controversiæ nondum erant diremptæ, tamen Cæsar jubet in senatu principum sententias dici de libro. Hic dux Bavariæ Gulielmus, recitat de scripto longam criminationem eorum, qui amplexi sunt Augustanam confessionem; deinde et hunc librum a Cæsare oblatum prorsus rejicit. Censet nullam ullius opinionis correctionem aut moderationem, nullam legum pontificiarum mitigationem admittendam esse: nihil concedendum adversariis quam discrepet ab usitatis opinionibus aut ceremoniis cæterarum nationum. Hæc summa fuit orationis Bavaricæ, cui assentiebantur plerique episcoporum. Hos ut confirmaret Eccius, misit ad senatum principum brevem epistolam in qua improbat librum; ac testatur nunquam sibi placuisse, propterea quod errores non ferendos contineret, nec in loquendo sequeretur theologorum phrasin et consuetudinem. Dicuntur sententiæ moderatiores a legatis Coloniensis episcopi, a legatis Palatini, et a marchione Brandenburg electore: ut conciliati articuli comprobentur. Cæteri rejiciantur ad synod

dum, aut alium conventum. Hi enim disputabant, paulatim coituras in concordiam ecclesias, si æquitas adhiberetur: et conscientiis piorum, quæ desiderent quorundam rituum vitiosorum emendationem, consulendum esse. Tertia fuit sententia nostrorum, non reprehendi articulos conciliatos, si tamen in his quædam ambigua diserte explicarentur. Addebant et de controversiis non diremptis: se judicare articulos a nostris in colloquio exhibitos veros, et ita moderate scriptos esse, ut sperent sanis judiciis satisfacturos esse. Et quia jusserat imperator exhiberi deliberationem de reformatione ecclesiæ, adjecti sunt libelli de gubernatione ecclesiarum. Cum vero principum sententiæ inter se non congruerent, imperator, ne de summâ rei ipse statuere videretur, cardinalem Contarenum adhibet. Hic ut honesto prætextu certamina finirentur, proponit scriptam sententiam, in qua jubet totam vel integram causam servari Romano pontifici, ac vetat in conventu de his rebus iterum disputari. Et quia fuerat contentio de conciliatis articulis recipiendis, quos visus est antea Contarenus non improbare; adductus est importunitate Eccii ut alterum scriptum proponeret, in quo diserte inquit, se de conciliatione non pronunciare, nec probare eos, sed relinquere judicium Romano pontifici. Mirabantur multi Contarenum, cum et doctrinæ Christianæ peritissimus esse diceretur, et singulari gravitate et virtute præditus, non libere profiteri quod sentiret. Nam cum omnes Christiani et intelligere communem evangelii doctrinam debent; tum vero maxime illis, qui primas in ecclesia tenent, et gubernatores doctrinæ esse volunt, convenit aperte suam

sententiam ostendere. Nec continent articuli conciliati inanes argutias, sed res magnas, et ecclesiæ necessarias: ut de morbo originis, de libertate voluntatis humanæ, et fide justificante propter Christum, de retinendis officiis episcoporum et aliorum graduum ecclesiasticorum. Sed quo concilio suam sententiam Contarenus occultavit, nihil ad nos attinet: sed eventus satis ostendit, eos qui sperarunt initio adversarios nostros aliquam moderationem aut emendationem suarum opinionum admissuros, non satis perspexisse eorum voluntates; tentandos putarunt animos nostros, ut seu inclinatio quædam, seu distractio fieret, posteaque suum odium declararent. Alii meliores, qui seriò moderationem aliquam expetunt, cum viderent nec animorum concordiam vere coituram esse, nec semina odiorum tolli, etsi receptæ essent hæ moderationes, minus succensebant nobis quod repugnaveramus. Audio et cum videret frustra tentatas esse has conciliationes, dixisse Deum fortassis hos conatus impedivisse, qui arcano et mirabili consilio regit ecclesiam: quod his moderationibus receptis, mala quædam confirmata fuissent et eorum stabilita potentia, qui errores præcipue defendunt.—Deum vero orandum esse ut ipse ecclesiæ opem ferat, et pios cultus ac veram doctrinam restituat.

THE END.

C. Baldwin, Printer,
New Bridge-street, London.

00066918

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016